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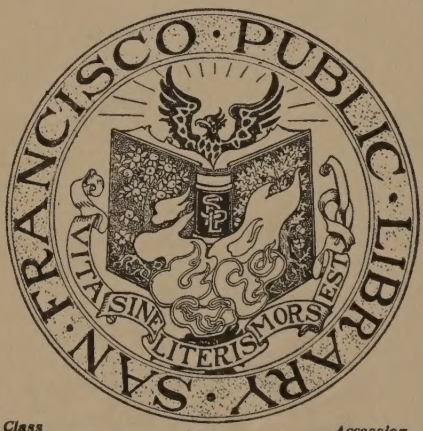

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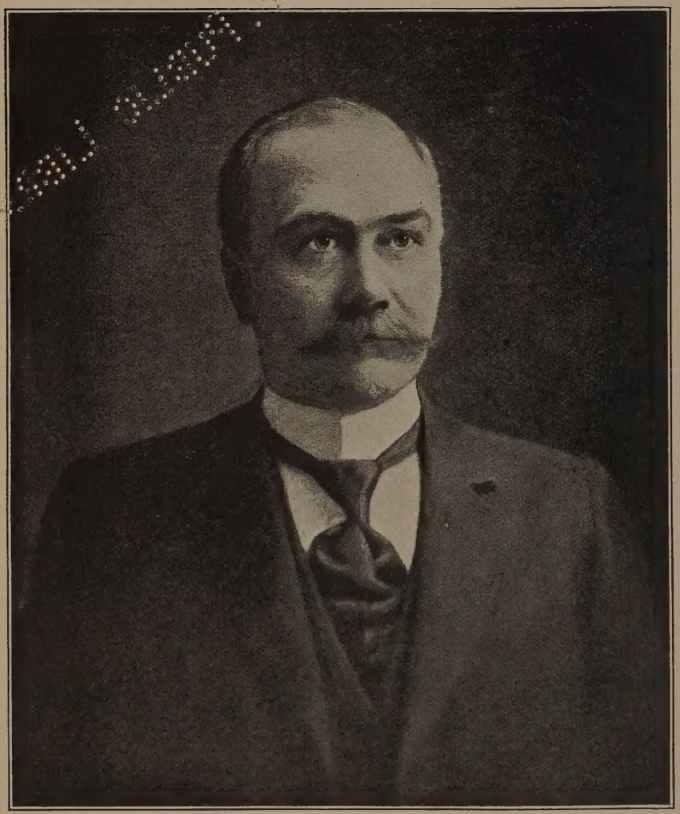

Isaac Samuel Bradley (1853–1912)

From the oil portrait by James Reeve Stuart, in possession of the Society

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

AT ITS

SIXTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

Held October 24, 1912

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Officers, 1912-13

President

Lucius Charles Colman, B. A.	La Crosse

Vice Presidents

Hon. Emil Baensch	Manitowoc
Hon. Burr W. Jones, M. A.	Madison
Hon. John Luchsinger	Monroe
Hon. Benjamin F. McMillan	McMillan
Hon. William J. Starr, LL. B.	Eau Claire
Hon. John B. Winslow, LL. D.	Madison

Superintendent

Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D.	Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	Madison

Curators, Ex-Officio

Hon. Francis E. McGovern	Governor
Hon. John S. Donald	Secretary of State
Hon. Henry Johnson	State Treasurer

Curators, Elective

Term expires at annual meeting in 1913

Jairus H. Carpenter, LL. D.	Dana C. Munro, M. A.
Victor Coffin, Ph. D.	William A. P. Morris, B. A.
Lucius C. Colman, B. A.	Robert G. Siebecker, LL. B.
Matthew S. Dudgeon, M. A.	William J. Starr, LL. B.
Carl R. Fish, Ph. D.	Edward B. Steensland, Esq.
Benjamin F. McMillan, Esq.	Charles R. Van Hise, LL. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1914

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.	John Luchsinger, Esq.
Emil Baensch, Esq.	Most Rev. S. G. Messmer
Charles N. Brown, LL. B.	J. Howard Palmer, Esq.
Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.	John B. Parkinson, M. A.
Alfred A. Jackson, M. A.	Frederic L. Paxson, Ph. D.
Burr W. Jones, M. A.	William A. Scott, LL. D.

Officers of the Society, 1912-13

Term expires at annual meeting in 1915

Thomas E. Brittingham, Esq.	Col. Hiram Hayes
Henry C. Campbell, Esq.	Rev. Patrick B. Knox
William K. Coffin, M. S.	Maj. Frank W. Oakley
Richard T. Ely, LL. D.	Arthur L. Sanborn, LL. B.
Lucien S. Hanks, Esq.	E. Ray Stevens, LL. B.
Nils P. Haugen, LL. B.	William W. Wight, M. A.

Executive Committee

The thirty-six Curators, the Superintendent, the Governor, the Secretary of State, and the State Treasurer (forty in all) constitute the Executive Committee.

Standing Committees (of Executive Committee)

Library—Munro (chairman), Stevens, Knox, Dudgeon, and the Superintendent (ex officio).

Art Gallery and Museum—Conover (chairman), Van Hise, Ely, Brittingham, and the Superintendent (ex officio).

Printing and Publication—Fish (chairman), Dudgeon, Paxson, Scott, and the Superintendent (ex officio).

Finance—Morris (chairman), Palmer, Brown, Scott, and Brittingham.

Advisory Committee (ex officio)—Munro, Conover, Fish, and Morris.

Special Committees (of the Society)

Relations with State University—Thwaites (chairman), Oakley, Haugen, Siebecker, and Jones.

Building of Northwest Wing—Thwaites (chairman), Brown, Dudgeon, Munro, and Steensland. Walter M. Smith, secretary; Edward Tough, deputy architect.

The Library Staff

Superintendent

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

Superintendent's Secretary

ANNIE AMELIA NUNNS, B. A.

In charge of Divisions

(In order of seniority of service)

MARY STUART FOSTER, B. L.	—*Reference*
IVA ALICE WELSH, B. L.	—*Catalogue*
LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, Ph. D.	—*Research*
DAISY GIRDHAM BEECROFT	—*Periodicals*
CHARLES EDWARD BROWN	—*Museum*
LILLIAN JANE BEECROFT, B. L.	—*Newspapers*
MABEL CLARE WEAKS, M. A.	—*Maps, Mss., and Illustrations*
ANNA WELLS EVANS	—*Public Documents*
RAYMOND NEWELL BROWN, B. A.	—*Orders and Supplies*

Assistants

(In order of seniority of service)

ANNA JACOBSEN, B. L.	—*Catalogue*
EDNA COUPER ADAMS, B. L.	—*Reference*
ELEANORE EUNICE LOTHROP, B. A.	—*Superintendent's Clerk*
FREDERICK MERK, B. A.	—*Research*
ROBERT BERIGAN	—*Public Documents*
ALBERT TRAINOR	—*Newspapers*
ESTHER DE BOOS, B. A.	—*Reference*
SUE TULLIS, B. L.	—*Manuscripts*
FLORENCE ELIZABETH DUNTON, B. A.	—*Catalogue*
HELEN LEONARD GILMAN, B. A.	—*Catalogue*

Student Assistants

*ROY HARRISON PROCTOR	—*Reference*
*MARIE NUZUM FOULKES	—*Reference*
*FLORENZ GEORGE ALTENDORF	—*Public Documents*

* On part time.

Library Staff

Care Takers

(Under State civil service law)

Magnus Nelson	—*Head Jan. and Gen. Mechanic*
Irving Robson	—*Janitor and General Mechanic*
Martin Lyons	—*Janitor and General Mechanic*
Bennie Butts	—*Office Messenger*
Tillie Gunkel	—*Housekeeper*
Elizabeth Alsheimer, Barbara Brisbois, Gertrude Nelson, Mary Schmelzer, *Regina Grosse	—*Housemaids*
Walter J. Sargent	—*Elevator Attendant*
†Elizabeth McCann, Ida Steffen, Thomas Goodnight	—*Cloak Room Attendants*

Main Library Open—Daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, University vacations, and summer months; 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M.
Saturdays: 7:45 A. M. to 9 P. M.
Holidays, University vacations, and summer months, as per special announcements.

Departmental Libraries (Maps, Manuscripts, and Illustrations; Patents; and Newspaper Files) Open—Daily, with above exceptions, 9–12 A. M., 1–5 P. M.

Museum Open—Daily except Sundays and holidays: 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Sundays, holidays, and evenings, as per special announcements.

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* On part time.

† Cloak rooms are open only while the University is in session.

The Sixtieth Annual Meeting[1]

The business session of the sixtieth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the lecture room of the State Historical Library Building at Madison, on Thursday afternoon, October 24, 1912, commencing at four o'clock; an open session was held the same evening in the north hall of the Society's Museum, commencing at eight o'clock. In the afternoon the Executive Committee also held its annual meeting.

Business Session

Vice-President Luchsinger took the chair at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Official Reports

The superintendent, on behalf of the Executive Committee, submitted its annual report, which was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

Chairman Morris of the Committee on Finance presented his report, approving the report of Treasurer L. S. Hanks for the year ending June 30, 1912, to which in its turn was attached the favorable report of the Auditing Committee (Chairman E. B. Steensland) upon the treasurer's accounts. These several reports were adopted. (See Appendix for texts.)

The superintendent presented his fiscal report for the year ending June 30, 1912, all accounts having been audited by the secretary of state and warrants therefor paid by the state treasurer. (See Appendix for text.)

[1] The report of the proceedings here published, is condensed from the official Ms. records of the Society.

Reports of Auxiliaries

Annual reports were received from the Society's several auxiliary societies, and they were ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings*. (See Appendix for texts.)

Curators Elected

Messrs. Carl R. Fish, A. C. Beckwith, and E. B. Steensland were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected to succeed themselves, for the term ending at the annual meeting in 1915:

Henry C. Campbell, Esq., of Milwaukee; William K. Coffin, Esq., of Eau Claire; Col. Hiram Hayes, of Superior; William W. Wight, Esq., of Milwaukee; and Messrs. T. E. Brittingham, Richard T. Ely, Lucien S. Hanks, N. P. Haugen, Patrick B. Knox, Frank W. Oakley, Arthur L. Sanborn, and E. Ray Stevens, of Madison.

Amendments to the Constitution

The following amendment to the Constitution, offered and read by Chairman Dana C. Munro of the Library Committee, at the annual meeting of the Society held on October 26, 1911, was unanimously adopted:

Amend by adding the following words to section 2, article iii:

All Annual Members who have paid their dues for at least twenty-five consecutive years shall be promoted to the rank of Life Membership. Libraries and other educational institutions not having exchange relations with the Society may become Institutional Members upon payment of five dollars per annum or fifty dollars for continuous membership.

The following amendment to the Constitution, also offered and read on behalf of the Library Committee by Mr. Munro, at a special meeting of the Executive Committee held June 1, 1912, was likewise unanimously adopted:[1]

Article III, section 2. In both lines 2 and 3, substitute the word *superintendent* for the word *secretary*, so that the section shall read:

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be held from time to time, as required, upon call of the president or superintendent; and such meetings shall be called by the superintendent upon the written request of five other members of the executive committee.

---

[1]Line references are to the edition of the Constitution as printed in *Bulletin of Information* No. 49, published in June, 1909.

Article IV, section 1. In line 2 of first paragraph, strike out the words *secretary and librarian* and substitute therefor the word *superintendent*, so that the paragraph shall read:

Section 1. There shall be thirty-six curators, who, together with the superintendent of the Society, and the governor, secretary of state, and state treasurer, shall constitute an executive committee, in which committee shall be vested full power of administration of the affairs of the Society. A majority of the members of the committee shall constitute a quorum; if those present be less than a majority of the committee, but not less than seven in number, they shall yet exercise the power of the committee, subject to ratification.

Rephrase the fifth paragraph, so that it shall read as follows:

The superintendent shall hold office during the pleasure of the executive committee, subject to removal as hereinafter provided.

Upon the death, resignation, or removal from office of any officer of the Society, the vacancy may be filled for the time being by the executive committee at any annual, regular, or special meeting thereof.

Article IV, section 3. Rephrase the section, so that it shall read as follows:

Section 3. The superintendent shall be the secretary of the Society. He shall countersign all deeds, leases, and conveyances executed by the Society, and affix the seal of the Society thereto and to such other papers as shall be required or directed to be sealed; he shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society and of the executive committee; safely and systematically keep all papers, records, and documents belonging to the Society, or in any wise pertaining to the business thereof, except such as may be committed to the care of other officers; shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; edit and supervise its publications; have in charge the books, manuscripts, portraits, specimens, relics, and other collections of the Society; record the accessions of, and catalogue and arrange the same; and generally, so far as required, always subject to the direction of the executive committee, administer the several activities of the Society.

Strike out all of section 5 of said Article IV, and renumber the remainder of the sections thereof.

In paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 of the newly-numbered section 6 (formerly section 7), strike out the word *secretary* and substitute therefor the word *superintendent*, so that said paragraphs shall read as follows:

The executive committee may adopt by-laws for the government and administration of the affairs of the Society, not inconsistent with this Constitution. They shall hold an annual meeting upon such day in the month of October in each year, as they may specify in said by-laws. Special meetings may be called by the president or superintendent, and shall be called by the superintendent upon the written request of five other members of the committee.

When present at meetings of the executive committee, the president shall be chairman, and the superintendent shall be secretary.

It shall be the duty of the committee, through the superintendent, to make an annual report to the Society, of all their acts and doings, and of the condition of the Society and its work, accompanied by such suggestions as may seem to them appropriate.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Open Session

The open session of the Society commenced at 8 P. M. in the north hall of the Museum, Vice-President Luchsinger in the chair.

The vice-president, in opening the meeting, spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen, fellow members of the Wisconsin Historical Society: In the absence of President Colman, it devolves upon me, one of your vice-presidents, to preside at this meeting. Following our rule we have again met in annual conference, to take note of what the year just closed has brought us of promise and accomplishment, of growth and improvement, and to counsel for the work to be done in the years to come, as well as to give account of the trust confided to us by the State. The work of gathering and preserving the facts that make history, partakes of the advanced methods that prevail in the every-day life of enlightened people. No longer are facts slowly and laboriously gathered from many and often conflicting sources. Never since men wrote, have the conditions been so perfect whereby current history can be recorded correctly. An important event takes place, no matter where; by a flash of electricity, by wire and wireless, it is made known in every corner of the civilized world; everywhere, in every language, swift, tireless presses convert the message into the printed history of the day. Hearsay, tradition, and legend are discarded and have no place in the recorded history of these times. An oration or debate affecting states and nation is taken down by the shorthand reporter as fast as delivered, and the nation may be reading it before those who have spoken have left the hall; and having read it, judgment is formed and expressed, whether it be on the rebellion in Mexico, the cost of making presidents and senators, the progress of the Panama canal, or the high cost of living. All is judged as fast as the daily historian has gathered it, and from such judgment, adverse or approving, is formed public opinion, that power which to-day makes rulers and legislatures, and even courts, do its biding.

It is the task of the historian and of this great Society to make correct permanent record, to preserve what is worth preserving of the daily events so swiftly come and gone, so swiftly printed, and so apt soon to be forgotten—covering up no weakness, guilt, or folly, and giving due credit and praise wherever deserved. Thus history may serve its noble purpose of teaching, guiding, warning, and encouraging the men and women of times to come.

The Wisconsin Historical Society stands in the front rank in the work of gathering and preserving this current history. Its bound files of the newspapers of this and other states and countries are immense in number and completeness. The Society is diligent also in gathering

for the library whatever is of value of the product of the best minds of this time and of older periods. Under the expert intelligent direction of its superintendent and his assistants, there has been collected for the free use of the people one of the best and largest collections in this country of books and pamphlets. In the Museum are gathered the relics of days past, the reminders of how the pioneers looked, and how they lived and worked. The people, through their legislature, have made generous provision for the safe-keeping and care of these valuable collections. This splendid building, with the completion of the addition now in progress, will for many years afford space for its contents, and room for students and visitors.

Like most things of permanent value, the Society had an exceedingly small beginning. Its early growth was slow. Sixty-three years ago (in 1849) its Library contained fifty books and pamphlets, kept in a small case on a table in the governor's office; that case now stands in our Museum a silent, interesting exhibit, a witness to prove how humble was the germ from which has developed the present magnificent building and collections, a credit to the untiring efforts of our Society as well as to the generosity of the people of Wisconsin. The Library now contains 352,000 books and pamphlets. The Museum exhibits number about 200,000 and occupy the whole upper floor of the building.

The Society has about 800 Members; there should be several times that number, for every person interested in the history of Wisconsin or the history of any county or town in it, should become a Member, and as such contribute valuable local history that otherwise would be lost or forgotten. It would add greatly to the interest of our annual meetings if the attendance of Members was greater. I am sure that each Member, if present, would be pleased and interested. I can only account for the lack of large attendance on the theory that the absent ones have unbounded confidence in the integrity of those who do attend, and have unlimited confidence in the ability, knowledge, and expertness of the superintendent and his colleagues, who are entitled to well-deserved credit for their efficient and intelligent work.

Historical Papers Presented

At the conclusion of the vice-president's remarks, Professor Frank Heywood Hodder of the University of Kansas read an address on "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act."

The following papers were then presented by title, and ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings* for the year:

Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data, by John Thomas Lee of Madison.

The Capture of Mackinac in 1812, by Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Society's staff.

Powell's Recollections: An interview with Doctor Lyman Copeland Draper in 1877, by Captain William Powell of Shawano.

Pioneers and Durham Boats on Fox River, by John Wallace Arndt of Green Bay.

The Supreme Court of Wisconsin Territory, by Justice Robert G. Siebecker of Madison.

Notes on the Library of Congress Collection of House Miscellaneous Papers, by Asa Currier Tilton of Oyster Bay, N. Y.

Reception

At the conclusion of the literary exercises, the resident curators tendered an informal reception to those in attendance at the meeting. The ladies of the Society's staff served light refreshments, and all of the Museum was thrown open.

Executive Committee Meeting

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the lecture room in the afternoon, succeeding the Society's meeting.

New Members Elected

The elections of the following persons to membership in the Society were confirmed:

Life

Eau Claire—James T. Joyce.
La Crosse—Albert H. Schubert.
Madison—William A. P. Morris.
Ripon—Towne L. Miller.
Stevens Point—Mrs. N. A. Week.

Annual

Antigo—Arthur M. Arveson.
Appleton—William Harper.
Fond du Lac—William A. Titus.
Milwaukee—Joseph McC. Bell, Charles A. Bentley, A. Gledden Sauter.
Platteville—Thomas L. Cleary.
Spring Valley—Charles Lowater.

The superintendent announced that, under the operation of the amendment to the membership clause in the Constitution, this day adopted by the Society, the following Annual Members would henceforth be Life Members, from having paid their dues for twenty-five years or over:

Madison—Frank W. Hoyt, Burr W. Jones, Alexander Kerr, Julius E. Olson, Torgrim Olson, Fletcher A. Parker, Frank F. Proudfit, Arthur L. Sanborn, Charles S. Sheldon, Robert G. Siebecker, James W. Vance.

Washington, D. C.—Charles N. Gregory.

Amendments to By-Laws

The following amendments to the By-Laws were unanimously adopted, their purpose being to make the same accord with the constitutional amendments just adopted by the Society:

Wherever, in the 1909 printed edition thereof (*Bulletin of Information* No. 49), the words "secretary" or "secretary and superintendent" occur (to wit, in line 4, section 2; line 5, section 4; line 3, section 5; line 1, section 7; line 2, section 8; lines 1 and 7, section 9; and line 2, section 19), there hereby is substituted therefor the word "superintendent."

In lines 1 and 2, section 9, the words "and librarian" are hereby stricken out; in line 1 thereof the word "and" is hereby inserted between the words "superintendent" and "treasurer"; in line 8 thereof, the word "and" is hereby inserted between the words "five thousand dollars" and "of the treasurer"; and line 9 thereof is hereby stricken out.

Differentiation in Libraries

The following resolve was also adopted unanimously:

Voted: That in the interest of public convenience and economy of administration, the State-supported libraries conducted by this Society and by the University of Wisconsin should, so far as possible, continue to differentiate their lines of collection, as at present substantially agreed upon between the library authorities of the two institutions. The superintendent of the Society is therefore hereby authorized to conduct from time to time such exchanges of books between the two libraries as may be considered equitable by the respective library committees thereof; each such exchange to be, whenever practicable, based on careful appraisal of the market value of the books so transferred.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Appendix

Executive Committee's Report

(Submitted to the Society at the sixtieth annual meeting, held on October 24, 1912.)

Summary

During the past fiscal year we lost by death Librarian Isaac S. Bradley, who had served the Society for thirty-seven years and was the last link connecting the present staff with the official service of Secretary Draper and Librarian Durrie. The several private funds of the Society now aggregate $68,906.59, a gain in twelve months of $2,793.78. The Library accessions of the year were 10,981 titles (books and pamphlets together), which is about the average for the past decade; the Library now contains 352,187 titles. The reports from the several divisions of the Library show marked improvements in ordering, accessioning, and cataloguing methods and in general public conveniences; but there is an inadequate number of assistants, owing to lack of funds. The activities of the Museum are increasing, and its field is being broadened and strengthened. The recent publications of the Society include a new and much enlarged edition of the *Newspaper Catalogue*. The northwest book-stack wing is now in course of construction.

Death of Librarian Bradley

At this the sixty-fifth annual meeting of the Society since its organization in 1849, and the sixtieth after the reorganization in 1854, it is not strange that, so far as we are aware, no person now living was a member of the corporation at its inception. Further, by the death of Librarian Isaac Samuel Bradley on April 22, 1912, was removed the last link connecting the present Library staff with the official service of Doctor Draper and Mr. Durrie. In the course of nature, the pioneers have

passed from us; the daily conduct of the Society's affairs now rests on the shoulders of a body of men and women few of whom were even distantly acquainted with the men who managed the Library during its first third of a century.

The unusual length of Mr. Bradley's service (thirty-seven years) explains his contemporary connection with Doctor Draper, who resigned twenty-six years ago, and with Mr. Durrie, who died in office six years later. Our late colleague was born in Albany, N. Y., October 21, 1853, but in childhood came with his parents to Madison, and thereafter until the time of his death was identified with our State. Entering as a student in the University of Wisconsin he graduated with the class of 1875, when in his twenty-second year. His employment by the Society as first-assistant librarian somewhat antedated graduation, however, for he began service with us on April 9 of that year. Upon the death in the early autumn of 1892 of the Society's first librarian, Daniel Steele Durrie—who had served within a few months of thirty-seven years—Mr. Bradley succeeded him. In February, 1898, the title and duties of assistant superintendent were added to those of librarian.

Serving the public throughout a term longer than the average generation of men, Mr. Bradley acquired a state-wide acquaintance among those citizens of Wisconsin whose business and tastes drew them into dealings with our Library; and, from being a familiar figure at the annual meetings of the American Library Association, he had formed within his own profession a list of friends stretching across the continent. His manner was genial, he had a smile and a pleasant greeting for all who had business with him; his was a helpful spirit, and in his time he assisted thousands of searchers for knowledge; his general acquaintance with the resources of the Library was, up certainly to a few years ago, in some fields more intimate than that of any other member of the staff. Characteristics and qualities such as these were long among the valued assets of our institution.

Some ten years ago, Mr. Bradley's health began to fail, and his condition was considered serious during the last few years of his life. Little by little the veteran librarian, who for so protracted a period had been ever at the service of

others, was through the consideration of his colleagues eased of responsibilities, until toward the end the duties expected of him had become only such as it was easy for him to bear. One day last spring, requiring a surgical operation which it was vainly hoped by us all would restore his oldtime vigor, he retired to his home, never again to set foot within his office. A gentle presence was missed forever from our band of workers, the faithful "keeper of the books" slipped quietly to his eternal reward.

Your committee is arranging by private subscription among Members, for the painting of an oil portrait of Mr. Bradley, to accompany like memorials of Draper and Durrie, and with heartfelt unanimity adopted resolutions of regard for his memory, and of sympathy for the widow and the two adult children who survive him. Upon the completion of the canvas it will be presented to the Society by the subscribers, who hope in this manner to perpetuate within our walls the features of one who had usefully served the institution for a longer period than any of those preceding him in the employment of the Society.

Financial Condition

State Appropriations

Expenditures for the Society emanating from State appropriations thereto, are, upon certification by the superintendent, audited by the secretary of state; as with other State departments, remittances to claimants are made by the state treasurer.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, covering the period of the present financial report, the Society received $35,900.01 from the State in direct standing appropriations made under section 376 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by chapter 634 of the laws of 1911. Of this sum, $26,929.94 was granted for administrative and miscellaneous expenses, under subsection 2; $6,970.07 under subsection 3, for books, maps, manuscripts, etc.; and $2,000 under subsection 5, for the conduct of the Museum.

The following statement shows the condition of these funds on July 1, 1912:

SUBSECTION 2

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1912

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1911	$2,476.74
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1912	26,929.94
From Wisconsin History Commission, on account of editing etc. of its publications	500.00
From Wisconsin History Commission, for typewriter desk	50.00
Total	$29,956.68

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1912

Administration of the Society

Services	$18,339.17	
Supplies	53.73	
Equipment	471.10	
Freight and drayage	221.13	
Travel	20.80	
Miscellaneous	2.20	
		$19,108.13

Maintenance of Building

Services	$7,161.98	
Supplies	922.12	
Equipment	26.87	
Light and power[1]	870.00	
Repairs	384.20	
		$9,365.17
		$28,473.30
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1912		1,483.38
		$29,956.68

[1] The expense of the physical care of the building is for the most part divided equally between the Society and the University of Wisconsin. This item represents the cash balance paid by the Society to the University on account of light and power furnished by the latter, in excess of the amount paid out by the Society for care-takers, cleaners' supplies, repairing, etc.; the actual annual cost of light and power for the building is of course much larger than this.

SUBSECTION 3

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1912

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1911	$347.36
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1912	6,970.07
From Wisconsin History Commission, duplicates	15.00
Total	$7,332.43

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1912

Books and periodicals	$5,751.65	
Maps and manuscripts	456.42	
Pictures	87.69	
		$6,295.76
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1912		1,036.67

SUBSECTION 5

Receipts, year ending June 30, 1912

State appropriation	$2,000.00

Disbursements, year ending June 30, 1912

Services	$1,284.63	
Specimens, equipment, and travel	651.65	
		$1,936.28
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1912		63.72
		$2,000.00

Details of the foregoing expenditures are presented in the superintendent's fiscal report, submitted in connection herewith. A copy thereof has been filed with the governor in accordance with the provisions of law.

The growth of the institution in all of its divisions is so constant, and the persistent demands for service so much greater than our ability to meet them, that we shall again be obliged to ask the Legislature at its next session for an increase of appropriations. The administrative fund (subsection 2) needs an addition of at least $2,500 per year, to provide for increased expenses of maintenance as well as necessary growth of Library staff. The fund for book purchases (subsection 3) is still $3,000 short of the minimum hoped for by us a decade ago, and prices

are steadily on the upward trend, so that an additional $1,000 per year is the least we can ask for with any measure of self respect. As for the Museum fund (subsection 5), it well merits an increase, but must wait for a time when other needs are less pressing.

Private Funds

Most important of these is the general-and-binding fund. To the principal thereof is automatically awarded one-half of the receipts from membership dues and the sale of ordinary duplicates; the interest earned by the principal is expended in paying certain of the staff salaries and a share of the general expenses. This income is a welcome addition to the appropriations received through the bounty of the Legislature. On July 1, 1912, the fund amounted to $34,505.14, a net gain of $1,332.86; its allotment of interest for the year was $1,495.18.

The principal of the antiquarian fund derives its growth from the same sources as the general-and-binding, but its income is chiefly devoted to the purposes of the Museum. On July 1 it contained $15,357.69, a net gain within the year of $1,500.21; of this, $624.37 was interest.

The Draper fund benefits from the sale of publications emanating from the Draper manuscript collection; its income is spent in calendaring and caring therefor. By July 1 the principal had grown to $11,476.77, an increase of $60.57 in the year; the interest allotment was $514.97.

The Mary M. Adams art fund contained July 1, 1912, $5,177.09, a gain of $78.84 within the year; it had earned in interest, $230.47. This fund, which now has somewhat exceeded the minimum hoped for by Mrs. Adams, is bringing to the Museum many interesting objects of art.

The Anna R. Sheldon art fund, for the purchase of books for the Anna R. Sheldon memorial art collection, contained on July 1, $1,816.31, the year's growth being $130.96, of which $75.84 was interest. Contributions to the income of this fund are occasionally received from the Memorial Committee, and some highly desirable accessions to our collection of art books have of late come from this source.

A special book fund of $1,000 was presented to the Society in April, 1910, by a Life Member who did not desire that his

name be published in this connection. It has been devoted to the interests of the division of manuscripts, and on July 1, 1912, still contained $558.84. During the year it was largely drawn on for important work and accessions in that branch of our Library. In September, 1912, the same Member generously gave to the fund an additional $1,000, to be expended in advancing the interests of some other division of Library work. Preparations are under way for the carrying out of his wishes, and a year hence we hope in consequence to be able to report considerable accessions, especially to the collection of newspaper files.

The report of the treasurer shows that the several private funds of the Society now aggregate $68,906.59, a gain during the year of $2,793.78. This is encouraging, but our increasing needs are far in excess of the interest received from such sum, which amounted to $3,640.63. In order properly to supplement the present bounty of the State, and fairly to meet the situation now daily facing us, we should possess an additional endowment of $100,000.

The Library

Statistics of Accession

Following is a summary of Library accessions for the year ending September 30, 1912:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	1,589	
Books by gift	2,574	
Total books		4,163
Pamphlets by gift	5,620	
Pamphlets on exchange and by purchase	998	
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings	200	
Total pamphlets		6,818
Total accessions of titles		10,981
Present (estimated) strength of Library:		
Books		172,987
Pamphlets		179,200
Total number of titles		352,187

Comparative statistics of gifts and purchases:

	1911	1912
Total accessions	9,639	10,981
Percentage of gifts in accessions	72	74
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges) in accessions	28	26
Books given	4,204	3,756
Pamphlets given	6,366	10,425
Total gifts (including duplicates which are not accessioned)	10,570	14,181
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	34	42
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	66	58

The Public Documents Division

with the aid of the new order division, has been engaged in collecting reports necessary to fill the gaps in regular publications, and such other material as may be valuable. The accessions have of late been at the rate of about 2000 a month and include all documents shelved, whether books, pamphlets, or periodicals.

The catalogue division has also rendered this division much valuable assistance and, in addition to the regular work of cataloguing accessions, has made available all of the sociological documents. The Canadian material has also been classified. This brings into general use some 20,000 books and pamphlets that heretofore have been without much practical value to the public. A cataloguer has been at work, also, analyzing files of collected state reports, and has brought to light many rare old papers, particularly in the early collections of Massachusetts and New York.

The use of the British parliamentary papers is increasing so rapidly that it was thought best to bind the numbers covering the years from 1860 to 1880, and over 1200 volumes have recently been sent to the bindery. This will facilitate the use of these earlier years, for the indexes refer to the volume numbers. The current numbers are bound as soon as the index and title pages are issued.

The mechanical work alone, on this mass of government publications, requires fully half the time of one person, and an assistant giving full time has lately been added to the staff of

the division. A student assistant has been employed to keep the division open in the evenings, and it is thus affording better service to its patrons than hitherto.

While awaiting the completion of the new wing, there are two problems to solve: the shelving of the new books and the accommodation of students with desk room. Already the storage capacity of the Library is exhausted and the books of the document division are scattered in five different rooms on two floors. What is to be done with the thousands of documents to be accessioned during the next two years, is indeed a serious question. At certain periods of the year, the seating capacity of the consultation room is quite inadequate; window-sills as well as the desks and work tables of the attendants are filled with people who can find no other place at which to use notebook and pen, and some temporary solution of the difficulty will have to be found, despite our limited financial resources.

Maps, Manuscripts, and Illustrations Division

The labor of cataloguing current accessions to the growing collections of maps, manuscripts, and illustrative material is increasing; this together with the necessary analysis of maps bound in atlases, is a task that might well occupy the entire time of one member of the staff.

The most important manuscript accessions of the year have been transcripts of original material bearing on Wisconsin history, from the Canadian Archives and the Library of Congress. The search for the former was described in the *Proceedings* for 1911; the latter will be listed in *Bulletin of Information*, "Gifts to the Society, 1912." Additional transcripts from the archives of various federal administrative departments in Washington have also been received. Our search therein was at first confined to material concerning the history of Wisconsin prior to 1836; but among the last installment of transcripts are some papers referring to Wisconsin territorial matters.

Many of these transcripts are photostat reproductions. The photostat is the latest method of copying manuscripts, and is not only more satisfactory but is less expensive than typewriting. The Library expects soon to purchase a photostat, and thereafter will be able to supply requests for copies of manuscripts by this process.

Six volumes of the Draper collection and twelve loose manuscripts have been treated by the Emery process during the year. This increases the number of volumes that have been remounted and bound in this manner, to twenty-nine. The method is so expensive that it is used only for our most valuable manuscripts and those in immediate danger of decay.

The calendaring of volumes in the Draper collection has been continued. The Preston Papers and the first twelve volumes of the Virginia Mss., a series which correlates with the Preston Papers, have been completed; also vols. 8–10 of the Boone Mss.

Our file of typewritten minutes of hearings of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission has been discontinued, since we are unable to sacrifice space to a duplicate file of papers which are easily accessible in the office of the commission itself.

Our collection of maps has been increased by tracings and drawings from early American maps in the Canadian Archives. A considerable number of maps have been bound into atlas form, and a few have been mounted and *passe partouted* during the year.

The Society has recently acquired ten Medici prints and six publications of the Arundel Society. These reproductions of paintings by the old masters are largely used by students of the history of art.

Newspaper Division

During the year, 784 volumes of newspapers have been bound —149 of these being labor and trade journals. The most important accessions of the year have been:

Charleston (S. C.) *Courier*, 2 vols., 1864–65.
Chillicothe (Ohio) *Soldier*, 2 vols., 1887–92.
Hartford (Conn.) *Republican*, 1 vol., 1849–51.
London (Eng.) *Times*, 13 vols., 1849–53.
Nashville *Democratic Statesman*, 1 vol., 1832.
Worcester (Mass.) *National Ægis*, 6 vols., 1824–42.
—— *Massachusetts Yeoman*, 3 vols., 1827–33.
—— *Palladium*, 25 vols., 1836–64.
—— *Republican*, 4 vols., 1831–38.
—— *Spy*, 80 vols., 1846–1903.
650 papers published in Virginia and Georgia, 1862–67.

The division now regularly receives 445 general newspapers; of these, 53 are dailies and 392 weeklies—316 being published in Wisconsin and 129 outside the State. In addition to these general papers, the Library receives regularly 183 journals devoted to labor and socialism, and 54 to different trades or occupations. Of the 316 Wisconsin papers, 30 are printed in foreign languages; and of the 183 labor papers, 20 are in foreign text. The non-English languages represented, are Finnish, German, Hebrew, Polish, and Scandinavian.

There are now approximately 22,000 bound volumes in the Society's newspaper collection, occupying book-storage space equivalent to about 155,000 octavos. Of the collection, about 12,000 are Wisconsin publications; and 800 are labor and trade journals, which is probably the largest assemblage of this class in the United States.

Reference is elsewhere made to the new catalogue of the department, which is now virtually ready for distribution. This catalogue contains historical notes on nearly every journal listed, making it an epitomized history of a considerable portion of the American press.

Catalogue Division

Much of the work of the past year has been the classifying and cataloguing of current accessions. The task of preparing 10,981 newly-acquired books and pamphlets for the use of the public is not a small one; so that, with our limited cataloguing force, the time spent on the rearranging and cataloguing of old material has been limited. New and improved methods in cataloguing have in the past ten years been introduced the country over, necessitating on our part a change in much of the work done thirty years ago. For instance, our Library contains a mass of material on English politics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, religious pamphlets, and sermons, that when received were catalogued in a superficial manner, but now they should be dealt with in more detail. Our collection of about 14,400 pamphlets emanating from charitable, penal, and reformatory institutions (including many rare and valuable reports) has been entirely reclassified and arranged in a simple way for the use of students. The same likewise has been done

to the hospital reports, and 2000 Canadian public documents have also been put in order.

The cataloguing of the document division has been progressing steadily during the last twelve months. Within the coming year we hope to devote to this work the entire time of one member of the cataloguing force and half the time of another. Owing to the greatly increased use of this division by research workers, the need for a complete author and subject catalogue is apparent.

The music collection bequeathed to us by Prof. James Sargent Smith in 1901 has been entirely catalogued; 1547 cards have been made for the catalogue of our own Library, also 500 duplicate cards for the library of the State University school of music.

The Museum

Progress

The work in this division has largely been directed toward increasing and improving its collections, and acquainting the public with its increasing facilities for historical instruction and research.

In assembling material, much has been accomplished by frequent publication of the Museum's aims and needs in local and State newspapers. By this means also, the public has been informed of the progress of its educational work and of its frequent special historical exhibitions. The publication during the year of a *Teachers' Guide,* in handbook form, has been of assistance to school teachers.

The preparation and installation in the south hall of the Museum of several miniature models has supplemented the case exhibitions. To the thousands of school children who visit the Museum, these mean more than whole cases of intelligently-arranged and carefully-labelled specimens. The need is apparent, of additional models and of paintings illustrating various periods and incidents of Wisconsin history. There is opportunity to friends of the Museum to add to the cause of education by providing the needed funds for this purpose.

This year, special attention has been given to laying the foundations of future collections illustrating the history of the post

office, of the lumbering industry, of journalism, and of fire-fighting. This has necessitated correspondence and interviews with many citizens formerly, or at present, identified with such service and industries.

An idea of the rapid growth of the Museum during the past two years may be gained from the fact that two of its collections, those illustrative of the state's military and Indian history, have outgrown their present quarters, and additional space for their display must be provided. The present congested condition will, however, be somewhat relieved on completion of the new wing.

While much has been accomplished, a large amount of work remains to be undertaken to bring our collections up to modern standards of arrangement and educational value.

Accessions

The increasing public interest in the Museum's work is manifest in the now constant flow to its halls of specimens of a desirable nature.

The total accessions of the year number 1250, having an estimated value of about $3,500. Among the important additions are a fine miniature model of a Lake Michigan clipper ship, presented by H. George Schuette of Manitowoc; a collection of ethnological material from the Philippine Islands, Borneo, and Cambodia, deposited by Dr. Warren D. Smith of Madison; a silver-mounted shotgun captured by the donor from a noted Confederate guerrilla during the War of Secession, the gift of C. S. Westover of Madison; and a collection of Confederate bank notes and fractional currency presented by the United States Treasury Department.

Mrs. B. F. Parker, Milwaukee, has presented the service, fatigue, and dress uniforms and accoutrements of her husband, the late Lieut.-Col. Benjamin F. Parker of the Third Wisconsin Infantry; also a sword presented to him by the officers of the Fourth Infantry, W. N. G., on July 11, 1889.

Other gifts of special interest were made by J. P. Abee, Lieut. G. E. Arneman, H. N. Cary, H. O. Halverson, S. N. Hartwell, F. W. Heine, Mrs. A. H. Hollister, Dr. Victor Kutchin, Mrs. Emma A. Laurence, Mrs. S. J. Lefferts, W. N. Nelson, W.

H. Prisk, Mr. and Mrs. John Reiser, and H. H. Willard. These, together with all gifts made to the department, will be listed in detail in a special *Bulletin.*

Special Exhibits

One special exhibit followed another during the year, a total of fifteen such displays being made. Each of these covered periods of from one to three weeks. One of the best appreciated was of Dickensiana, held in commemoration of the centenary of Charles Dickens. It included many photographs and engravings of the great author, colored and other illustrations of the various buildings described in his books, autographs and autograph letters, books from his library, copies of the first English and American editions of his works, and many other specimens of much interest.

For the National Newspaper Conference held in Madison July 29–August 1, an extensive exhibit was made of newspapers of Colonial and Revolutionary days, and of early Wisconsin. A less extensive but equally interesting exhibit of German–American papers was prepared for the annual convention of the Wisconsin German Press Association, held on August 13–15. For the annual convention of the Wisconsin Postmasters' Association, an instructive exhibit was made, illustrating the history of the postoffice and mail service in Wisconsin. A special exhibit illustrating the Boy Scouts of America movement in Wisconsin, was participated in by several scouts' organizations and was the means of drawing a large number of youth to the Museum halls.

Other special exhibits made during the year, included Indian obsidian implements, old-fashioned pattern samplers, old-style valentines; and several that met University needs are mentioned below.

During the week of October 26–November 14, 1911, an exhibit was made by the Museum of 113 pen and ink drawings by Orson Lowell, well known as an illustrator and cartoonist for *Life:* and during December there was also held an exhibition of the decorative works of Will H. Low, the mural artist. The Madison Art Association likewise held three well-attended public exhibitions in the north hall of the Museum. One of

these, held during December, was the usual annual arts and crafts exhibit, and in connection with it a collection of color reproductions of the paintings of Jules Guérin. During February, 1912, the Association held an exhibition of about fifty oil canvases by leading American artists, and during March of over one hundred water colors selected from the annual show of the New York Water Color Club. In April there was an association exhibit of foreign laces, in which the Museum coöperated with its own collection.

Educational Activities

Special invitations were extended to the school teachers of Madison and of Dane and adjoining counties to visit the exhibition halls with their pupils. Twelve classes representing six Madison schools, and classes from the high schools of Oregon, Stoughton, DeForest, and Verona, accepted this invitation and were given instruction. To meet the needs of some of these schools, there should be available circulating loan collections of historical materials.

Several classes in the University of Wisconsin have made practical use of the collections. The pupils in the domestic science course have on several occasions throughout the academic year studied the pioneer cooking utensils, chinaware, textiles, basketry, Indian earthenware, and other classes of specimens. The class in machine design in the college of engineering devoted some time to an examination of the agricultural and other early machinery in the several halls. Some of the University classes in American history visited the Indian history room with excellent results. An extensive special exhibit illustrating newspaper history was made in coöperation with the University school of journalism, and the halls were opened on several evenings, at which time talks on this subject were given to members of the class by Prof. W. G. Bleyer, Dr. Rasmus B. Anderson, the superintendent of the Society, and others. During the University summer session of 1912, a special exhibit illustrating the works of the several Italian schools of art was made in connection with University lectures on the history of art and school-room art courses.

The Museum collections likewise proved of value to a num-

ber of miscellaneous students who were directed to its halls for the purpose of preparing themes on such varied topics as Indian cradles, primitive musical instruments, textiles, bead-work patterns, dress in tropical countries, stone art, fire-making devices, and aboriginal pottery and basketry.

Talks on Wisconsin Indians and War of Secession history were made by the chief of the division at Irving and Randall schools. A talk on Wisconsin Indian mounds was also given by him to the American Geographical Society, whose members visited Madison on August 28, in the course of their cross-country pilgrimage.

The lads engaging in the University corn-contest course, and delegations from several State conventions held in Madison, were also entertained.

The members of the Sauk County Historical Society and their guests, under the guidance of President H. E. Cole, of Baraboo, made two visits to the Museum during the summer.

Other Activities

The first national conference of Civic and Social Center Development was held in Madison during October, 1911. One of the most appreciated features of the convention programme was the harvest festival held in the University stock pavillion. An elaborate and picturesque Indian harvest dance, given on this occasion by fifty University students, was conducted under the supervision of the Museum staff. All of the costumes, accessories, and stage settings were also prepared under their direction. In addition to suggesting the subject, the Museum staff also directed the preparation of the costumes and accessories for Prof. W. E. Leonard's successful Indian historical drama, "The Glory of the Morning", produced at Fuller Opera House, Madison, on February 28, and later twice played in Milwaukee.

During the summer session, the chief of the Museum conducted two pilgrimages of students to the archæological and historical sites about Lakes Mendota and Monona. A total of over a hundred students participated in these.

With the permission of the State University, four groups of prehistoric Indian earthworks on its grounds were marked during the summer with explanatory signs. All of the five groups

on the grounds are now thus identified, for the undoubted benefit and enjoyment of students and other visitors.

Many natural history and geological specimens presented to the Museum during the year were transferred to the collections of the University, for the reason that the Society accessions only such materials as illustrate the studies of history and ethnology.

Archæological Research

The appropriation of the sum of $1,500 by the Legislature of 1911 to our neighbor, the Wisconsin Archæological Society, has made possible the conduct by the latter of surveys and explorations in many sections of the State, of the character of whose prehistoric Indian remains but little has heretofore been known. A number of experienced field-workers have been employed in these researches, which are still in progress. These men have given their services to the State without compensation.

Fully-equipped expeditions have covered the west shore of Green Bay from Big Suamico to Pensaukee, and large portions of the valleys of the Upper Wisconsin, Chippewa, Black, Eau Claire, Trempealeau, Oconto, Baraboo, and La Crosse rivers. Researches have also been conducted in the lake regions of Barron, Rusk, Polk, Burnett, Forest, and Oconto counties, and in portions of other counties. These researches have resulted in the discovery of many large groups and isolated mounds, also of Indian camp and workshop sites, garden beds and cornfields, ricing grounds, implement caches, cemeteries and other burial places, shrines, catlinite quarries, quartzite sources, trails, fords, and other evidences of early Indian life.

A number of the mounds have been scientifically explored, with interesting results. Camp and workshop sites have been investigated, and local collections examined with a view to increasing our present limited knowledge of the culture and relationships of the early aboriginal inhabitants of the northern half of the State. The reports of these surveys and investigations are now in preparation for publication. They will show that everywhere throughout the northern sections of the State, valuable Indian earthworks and other remains have been, or are being, carelessly or wantonly destroyed without a thought of their future educational value. The relic hunter has every-

where been busy; through his operations alone, hundreds of interesting monuments have been rifled and shamefully mutilated. It remains for the intelligent citizens of northern Wisconsin to secure the permanent preservation of good examples of the mounds and other prehistoric monuments still located in their vicinity. The rapid disappearance of the State's Indian mounds now points to the necessity of purchasing and setting aside in parks or reservations a number of representative groups.

In the above mentioned archæological researches, the chief of the Society's Museum has taken an active part. Three expeditions to the northwest counties were made under his leadership.

Publications

Bulletins of Information

During the year, five bulletins have been published: No 59, "Gifts to the Society, 1911" issued in January, 1912; No. 60, "Periodicals and Newspapers Currently Received at the Library", issued in February, 1912; No. 61, "Reports of Auxiliaries, for 1911", issued in March, 1912; No. 62, "Typographical Style-book for Annotation", issued in April, 1912; and No. 63, "List of Active Members of the Society and of its Auxiliaries", issued in July, 1912.

Draper Series

In this series of volumes we are publishing important original documentary material relative to early trans-Alleghany history. The documents selected for the purpose are for the most part contained in our well-known Draper manuscript collection. Thus far, the volumes in the series have been devoted to material illustrative of the period just antecedent to and during the Revolutionary War, and to the region of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania and the upper Ohio valley in general. They have been prepared for and put through the press by the editorial staff of the Society; but the cost of printing has in large part been borne by the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

The first volume of the series, *Documentary History of Lord Dunmore's War, 1774,* was published in May, 1905. The second, *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–1777,* appeared in February, 1908. The third, its sequel, was issued from the press in March last. The documents contained in this last-named volume, both American and British, concern the period of Gen. Edward Hand's command at Pittsburgh and his defense against British and Indians of a frontier stretching from Kittanning on the Allegheny River to the Great Kanawha River and the frontier forts of Greenbrier, Virginia. The most distinctive events are the Loyalist uprising; the siege of Fort Henry at Wheeling; Foreman's defeat; the killing at Fort Randolph of the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk; and preparations for the Western expeditions of Clark, Rogers, and Willing. At least one more volume will be necessary to complete the documentary history of the Revolution in what was then the Far West.

Annotated Newspaper Catalogue

This enterprise, described in our report of a year ago, has at last been completed and is expected to issue from the bindery either late in October or early in November. The first edition of this catalogue was published in 1898, and numbered xii+375 pages; the second will comprise xii+591 pages, an expansion of matter fairly commensurate with the growth of the collection itself, which has now reached a total of about 22,000 bound volumes.

Wisconsin Historical Collections

Volume xx of this series is now in course of printing, and consists of documents continuing the story of the Wsconsin fur-trade from 1812 through the year 1825, when at high-water mark. It embraces the attempts to exclude foreigners; the proposals of the old Franco-British inhabitants of Green Bay to remove to Canada en masse, carrying with them the neighboring Indians; the war on the fur-trade factory system and its final abolition; and the growth and development of the American Fur Company's monopoly. The volume will conclude with a journal written in 1803–04 by Michel Curot, a wintering clerk in charge of a post in the St. Croix country—this interesting

document being Englished from the original unpublished manuscript.

Copy for the proposed index to volumes i–xx of the *Collections* is still in course of preparation; it cannot be completed until volume xx has been published. The index is necessarily of such extent that it will occupy a volume by itself, to be numbered xxi of the series. This publication will prove of great convenience to all students of Western history, and will greatly enhance the practical value of the *Collections*. At present, those who resort to this great storehouse of information regarding the history of Wisconsin, and in general the region of the upper Great Lakes, must laboriously consult the crude and faulty consolidated index to volumes i–x and the individual indexes to the several succeeding volumes.

Wisconsin History Commission

The publications of the Wisconsin History Commission are also distributed to our Members. These volumes contain material relative to Wisconsin's part in the War between the States, and consist of two series: one of original narratives, another of reprints. Owing to the exigencies of State printing, the Commission has not been able to publish anything within the past twelve months; but it has two volumes in the press, which should issue therefrom within the next few weeks. These are: *Narrative of Service with the Third Wisconsin Infantry,* by Maj. Julian W. Hinkley of Green Bay, and *Civil War Messages and Proclamations by Wisconsin Governors.* The former is based on the author's contemporary war diary and letters, and is an interesting account, day by day, of the varied experiences of a company commander; the latter is a collection of such state papers of Governors Randall, Harvey, Salomon, Lewis, and Fairchild (1858–1868) as have reference to the war. From its pages may be studied the economic and administrative aspects of the struggle, so far as Wisconsin was concerned.

The Society's editorial staff, which prepares for the press the publications of the Commission, is now engaged in editing the *Diary of an Artillery Private,* by the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd-Jones of Chicago. This book promises to attract attention not only from being a contemporaneous journal kept throughout the

war by a private soldier from Wisconsin, but because of the wide reputation of the author.

Addresses and Professional Meetings

The Society encourages the superintendent in accepting such invitations to address public meetings in this and other states, upon topics associated with our work, as do not materially interfere with his administrative and editorial duties. That official has, therefore, met the following engagements within the past twelve months:

November 1, 1911. Delivered address, "What an historical building should do for Pittsburgh", at the centennial celebration of steam-boating on the Ohio River, at Pittsburgh.

November 3, 1911. Addressed Northern Illinois Teachers' Association (Eastern Division), at Evanston, Ill., on "The significance of local history."

December 13, 1911. Lecture before Woman's Club, Neenah, on "George Rogers Clark."

December 14, 1911. Lecture before Daughters of the Revolution, at Danville, Ill., same subject.

December 27–30, 1911. Attended meetings of American Historical Association, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and Bibliographical Society of America, at Buffalo and Ithaca, N. Y.

February 3, 1912. Addressed Cayuga Historical Society, at Auburn, N. Y., on "Jesuit missionaries among the Iroquois."

February 19, 1912. Addressed G. A. R. meeting in Assembly Chamber, State Capitol, Madison, on "Washington and Lincoln as Western pioneers."

February 20, 1912. Lectured before Woman's Club, Neenah, on "The Black Hawk War."

February 21–22, 1912. Attended meeting of Wisconsin Library Association at Janesville; and on the 22d addressed pupils of State School for the Blind on "The Black Hawk War."

June 7, 1912. Addressed Ontario Historical Association, at Napanee, on "The romance of Mississippi Valley history."

June 20–July 2, 1912. Attended conference of American Library Association at Ottawa, Canada. While in Ottawa, made researches in the Dominion Archives for documentary material bearing on the history of the Old Northwest.

October 7, 1912. Took part in dedication of a bronze marker erected on the site of the first Territorial capitol of Wisconsin at Leslie; subject of address, "Territorial days and ways."

WISCONSIN'S FIRST CAPITOL, AT OLD BELMONT

As it appeared previous to removal from the original site. The senate is said to have met on the ground floor

EXERCISES AT THE CELEBRATION

The speakers' platform is beneath the tree. The bronze tablet, on a granite base, is in the centre of the picture. Photograph by Hiram Eastlick, Platteville.

Wisconsin's First Capitol

In our report for 1906[1] we described in detail the condition of the old building in Lafayette County which was erected seventy-six years ago (1836) for the use of the first legislative assembly of Wisconsin Territory. In this connection, an historical sketch of old Belmont (now Leslie) was given, and an earnest plea entered for the erection of some sort of memorial at that place, of the cradle of our Commonwealth. The project for such a memorial was awarded some consideration by the Legislature of 1907; but other and more pressing claims for State aid caused this to be pigeon-holed. No further attention being paid to the matter by succeeding legislatures, the project was renewed by the landmarks committee of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs. With characteristic energy the women carried their enterprise to a successful end, with the result that, as recorded above, a neat and substantial marker was, under the auspices of the Federation and of the federated women's clubs of Platteville, unveiled on the original site of the old capitol on Monday, October 7, 1912. Wisely, we think, no attempt was made to restore the capitol itself, which now is a much dilapidated cattle-barn on a site a few hundred feet distant from its former position. To strengthen and restore that structure and to remove it to the old location, would be a costly procedure; and, even were the building restored, it would be uncompromisingly ugly.

The day chosen for the dedication was perfect as to sky and temperature, and the autumnal coloring was at its best. There were in attendance about 800 people, coming largely in motor cars from all parts of the old lead-mine district, some of them thirty miles away, with a scattering from Madison, Milwaukee, and other points. Mrs. Jessie R. Skinner of Madison, chairman of the landmarks committee, presided. Addresses were made by Mrs. W. W. Pretts, Mrs. Louise Schambow, and Col. Duncan McGregor (representing Governor McGovern), of Platteville; by Justice R. G. Siebecker, of Madison, who spoke on the territorial supreme court; and, as above stated, by the superintendent of the Society.

[1] Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1906, pp. 48-53.

The marker is a slab of dark Wisconsin granite, surmounted by a bronze tablet bearing this inscription:

> This tablet marks the site of Belmont
> Where was held the first session
> Of the legislative assembly of the
> Territory of Wisconsin Oct. 25th, 1836,
> And the first term of the supreme court
> Dec. 8th, 1836. Presented to the
> People of Wisconsin by the Wisconsin
> Federation of Women's Clubs 1912

The Northwest Wing

Since your Committee's report of a year ago, some progress has been made on the new northwest wing to the Library. As stated therein, contract for the basement walls was let on October 2, 1911, to George R. Keachie of Madison, who completed his work early in the succeeding winter. On April 9, 1912, bids were opened for the superstructure (exclusive of electrical work), and contract was entered into with the lowest bidder, the Inter-State Construction Company of Saginaw, Mich., for $55,989. The electrical contract was at the same time awarded to R. J. Nickles of Madison for $1,595. Later, however, Nickles withdrew, and forfeited his certified check for $31.90 (two per cent of the bid). New bids for the electrical work were opened on July 25, the contract this time being awarded for $2,485 to the Harloff-Pence Company of Madison, the lowest bidder.

The Inter-State Construction Company were late in commencing operations, and the work has since moved but slowly. This is largely owing to the difficulty of procuring construction steel from the mills, a condition quite generally prevalent throughout the country. Unless exceptionally favorable autumn weather prevails, it would seem impossible for the wing to be roofed before work must stop because of winter conditions; this would be unfortunate, for then the completion of the building would probably be delayed beyond the period stipulated in the contract, the middle of August, 1913.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

Reuben G. Thwaites,
Superintendent.

Treasurer's Report

Inventory, July 1, 1912

Cash	$1,326.05
Mortgages	67,000.00
Real estate	580.54
	$68,906.59

Distributed as follows:

General and Binding Fund	$34,505.14	
Antiquarian Fund	15,357.69	
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	5,177.09	
Special Book Fund	558.84	
Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund	1,816.31	
Entertainment Fund	14.75	
Draper Fund	11,476.77	
		$68,906.59

General and Binding Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Annual dues	$474.50	
½ Life Membership fees	110.00	
½ Sale of ordinary duplicates	316.30	
Miscellaneous	10.50	
Bequest from Halle Steensland	500.00	
Interest apportioned	1,495.18	
		$2,906.48

Treasurer, Cr.

C. E. Brown, services	$38.43
Daisy G. Beecroft, services	924.16
L. S. Hanks, salary as treasurer	150.00
R. G. Thwaites, traveling expenses	73.00
Taxes on real estate	29.17
Notarial fees	4.00

Eiel Myrland, services	3.00	
Transferred to General and Binding Fund	1,684.72	
		$2,906.48

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1911 Balance	$33,162.28	
June 30, 1912 From income account	1,684.72	
		$34,847.00

Treasurer, Cr.

July 1, 1912 Loss on sale of Kingsley property, St. Paul	341.86	
July 1, 1912 Balance	34,505.14	
		$34,847.00
July 1, 1912 New balance		$34,505.14

Antiquarian Fund Income

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Annual dues	$474.50	
½ Life Membership fees	110.00	
½ Sale of ordinary duplicates	316.34	
Interest apportioned	624.37	
		$1,525.21

Treasurer, Cr.

Lorenz Model Company, model of Four Lake country	$25.00	
Transferred to Antiquarian Fund	1,500.21	
		$1,525.21

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1911 Balance	$13,857.48	
June 30, 1912 From income account	1,500.21	
July 1, 1912 New balance		$15,357.69

Draper Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1911 Balance	$11,416.20	
Sale of duplicates	53.92	
June 30, 1912 Interest apportioned	514.97	
		$11,985.09

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer, Cr.

	Louise P. Kellogg, services .	$508.32	
July 1, 1912	New balance . . .	11,476.77	
			$11,985.09

Mary M. Adams Art Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

July 1, 1911	Balance . . .	$5,098.25	
June 30, 1912	Interest apportioned .	230.47	
			$5,328.72

Treasurer, Cr.

1911			
Aug. 30	Foster Brothers, Boston, pictures	$24.30	
Nov. 29	" " " "	31.05	
1912			
Jan. 26	" " " "	11.25	
Apr. 26	G. E. Stechert, New York "	72.63	
Apr. 26	Foster Brothers, Boston "	12.40	
July 1	New balance . . .	5,177.09	
			$5,328.72

Entertainment Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1911			
July 1	Balance	$8.25	
	Subscriptions from resident curators	20.00	
			$28.25

Treasurer, Cr.

1911			
Nov. 15	Mrs. E. R. Ely, Madison, refreshments served at 1911 meeting	$13.50	
1912			
July 1	New balance . . .	14.75	
			$28.25

Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1911			
July 1	Balance	$1,685.35	
	Gifts	80.00	
	Interest apportioned . .	75.84	
			$1,841.19

Treasurer, Cr.

1912			
Jan. 25	G. E. Stechert, New York, book	$5.00	
Feb. 27	" " "	9.38	
April 26	" " "	10.50	
July 1	New balance	1,816.31	
			$1,841.19

Special Book Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

1911			
July 1	Balance	$885.00	
			$885.00

Treasurer, Cr.

1911			
July 13	J. E. Kirkpatrick, Madison, copying Mss.	$13.80	
Sept. 30	Louise P. Kellogg, Madison, trip to Canada, investigating archives to find Ms. material	83.00	
Sept. 27	D. B. Martin, Green Bay, copying Mss.	10.00	
Nov. 15	Joseph Aubé, Ottawa, copying Mss.	24.00	
Nov. 15	Dominion Archives, Ottawa, copying Mss.	43.58	
Nov. 15	L. P. Sylvain, Ottawa, copying Mss.	12.00	
Dec. 15	Thomas Tourillon, Montreal, copying Mss.	56.80	
1912			
June 26	L. F. Pierce, Washington, copying Mss.	75.60	
June 26	Library of Congress, transcripts	7.38	
July 1	New balance	558.84	
			$885.00

We the undersigned members of the Auditing Committee of the Wisconsin State Historical Society do hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer, and find proper vouchers covering all disbursements for the period covered by the within report.

We have also footed the cash account of the Treasurer and find same correct.

(Signed) A. E. Proudfit
A. B. Morris.

Treasurer's Report

The undersigned in behalf of the Finance Committee respectfully report that they have examined the securities in the hands of the Treasurer and find that all the securities mentioned in the inventory are in the hands of the Treasurer or satisfactorily accounted for and that all items of interest reported as paid are duly endorsed.

(Signed) W. A. P. Morris,
J. H. Palmer,
Charles N. Brown,
Finance Committee.

Superintendent's Fiscal Report

To the Executive Committee, State Historical Society of Wisconsin—The following is a list of orders drawn on the state treasurer by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, during the fiscal year ending June 3, 1912, in accordance with the appropriations made to said Society by the State, under section 376 of Wisconsin statutes as amended by chapter 634, laws of 1911:

UNDER SUBSECTION 2

Edna C. Adams, general assistant	$840.00
Alford Brothers, Madison, towel supply	97.17
Elizabeth Alsheimer, housemaid	455.50
Gus Alsheimer, cloak-room attendant	165.30
Florenz G. Altendorf, general assistant	113.61
American Express Co., Madison, express charges	57.82
Edwin W. Ames, extra help	9.25
J. L. Barry & Co., Madison, suction cleaner	65.00
Lillian J. Beecroft, newspaper department chief	821.55
Robert Berigan, general assistant	450.00
Roy Berigan, extra help	18.20
E. D. Billings, Madison, extra help	2.80
John Bormett, Madison, masonry repairs	175.20
Isaac S. Bradley, librarian and assistant superintendent	1,622.18
Barbara Brisbois, cloak-room attendant	234.76
L. C. Burke, Madison, lettering catalogue trays	12.40
Bennie Butts, office messenger	600.00
Capital City Paper Co., Madison, paper towels	113.00
C. M. & St. Paul Ry. Co., Madison, freight charges	64.28
C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight charges	55.57
City of Madison, drinking water	29.79
Willie Clerkin, elevator attendant	148.10
College Book Store, Madison, library supplies	2.00
Conklin & Sons Co., Madison, ice	52.40

Continental Mfg. Co., Indianapolis, dustaline	8.75
C. F. Cooley, Madison, masonry supplies	3.20
Cudahy Packing Co., Chicago, soap	48.00
Esther De Boos, general assistant	23.04
Dennison Mfg. Co., South Framingham, Mass., labels	4.15
Bessie H. Dexter, general assistant	459.40
A. B. Dick Co., Chicago, supplies	45.00
Marie P. Dickoré, general assistant	54.25
Enos Co., New York City, electrical supplies	2.70
Electrical Supply Co., Madison, electrical supplies	29.30
Anna W. Evans, document department chief	1,160.56
Fairbanks, Morse & Co., Chicago, steam-fitting supplies	5.04
Grace Foland, cataloguer	60.00
Mary S. Foster, reference and stacks department chief	897.74
Marie N. Foulkes, student assistant	241.05
A. D. & J. V. Frederickson, Madison, carpentry supplies	25.55
French Battery & Carbon Co., Madison, electrical supplies	5.70
Minnie Frey, extra help	36.25
Josephine M. Gath, general assistant	59.25
Gaylord Bros., Syracuse, N. Y., library supplies	2.00
Gilbertson & Anderson, Madison, clock repairs	5.50
Alex. Gill & Co., Madison, roof repairs	10.20
Gimbel Bros., Milwaukee, building supplies	31.69
Thomas S. Goodnight, cloak-room attendant	15.20
E. B. Greene, Urbana, Ill., travelling expenses	7.07
Ada T. Griswold, editorial assistant	240.00
Phillip Gross Hardware Co., Milwaukee, supplies	6.12
Tillie Gunkel, housekeeper	565.65
Mrs. F. Handel, extra help	8.00
Norman Hayner, Rochester, N. Y., cleaners' supplies	43.20
Isabel Hean, general assistant	90.00
J. I. Holcomb Mfg. Co., Indianapolis, brushes	39.00
I. M. Humble, general assistant	30.85
Illinois Electrical Co., Chicago, electrical supplies	23.01
Anna Jacobsen, cataloguer	759.34
Johnson Service Co., Milwaukee, steam-fitting supplies	6.65
William G. Johnston, Pittsburgh, Pa., magazine holders	14.10
Louise P. Kellogg, editorial assistant	458.32
Mrs. Kelly, extra help	20.00
Andrew Kinney, Madison, drayage	17.40
Charles J. Kruse, Madison, lettering cases	3.60
Susie Lally, extra help	10.00
Russell Lamphere, cloak-room attendant	95.50

Kate Lewis, cataloguer	646.20
Library Bureau, Chicago, library supplies and equipment	139.55
Isador Link, extra help	64.75
Eleanore E. Lothrop, superintendent's clerk	585.00
Martin Lyons, museum janitor and general mechanic	720.00
Madison Gas & Electric Co., Madison, electrical supplies	36.00
Mary A. Martin, cataloguer	477.00
Anna Mausbach, housemaid	441.44
Kate Mausbach, extra help	32.00
Mautz Bros., Madison, painting	100.25
Edwin Meisekothen, extra help	10.00
Fred Merk, editorial assistant	750.00
Mueller Co., Madison, steam-fitting supplies	18.86
Gertrude Nelson, housemaid	454.54
Magnus Nelson, head janitor and general mechanic	1,075.61
Mildred S. Nelson, extra help	36.25
Irene Newman, extra help	36.25
New York Store, Madison, cleaners' supplies	11.33
Annie A. Nunns, superintendent's secretary	1,049.97
Berger Olson, Madison, repairing chairs	49.50
Oppel's Fancy Grocery, Madison, supplies	1.75
Otis Elevator Co., Chicago, steel cable	15.52
William Owens, Madison, plumbing	58.79
Mrs. Page, extra help	85.00
John Pieh, Madison, masonry supplies	2.00
Piper Bros., Madison, cleaners' supplies	14.85
John Ponti, Madison, masonry repairs	78.10
Roy H. Proctor, student assistant	342.88
Margaret Reynolds, periodical department chief	685.30
Theodore B. Robertson Soap Co., Chicago, soap	22.73
Irving Robson, janitor and general mechanic	795.62
Rundell-Spence Mfg. Co., Milwaukee, steam-fitting supplies	3.85
Mary Ryan, extra help	88.00
Safford Stamp Works, Chicago, rubber stamps	10.45
Mary Schmeltzer, housemaid	418.66
Schwaab Stamp & Seal Co., Milwaukee, library supplies	1.83
Charles C. Smith, Exeter, Nebr., index signals	36.30
Smith Premier Typewriter Co., Milwaukee, repairs and typewriters	313.00
Standard Oil Co., Madison, oil	2.00
Ida Steffen, cloak-room attendant	100.50
Stock & Cordts, Kingston, N. Y., rubber chair-tips	10.50
Sumner & Morris, Madison, hardware	14.89

Adda I. Sutherland, general assistant	50.00
Reuben G. Thwaites, superintendent	3,500.00
Reuben G. Thwaites, official disbursements for supplies	19.33
Albert Trainer, general assistant	69.28
University Club, Madison, room and board for annual speaker	2.20
University of Wisconsin, Madison, heat, light, and power	870.00
Mabel C. Weaks, maps and Mss. department chief	900.00
Wells Fargo & Co., Madison, express charges	23.06
Iva A. Welsh, chief cataloguer	1,200.00
Theresa White, extra help	81.00
Robert Willett, elevator attendant	88.00
Wisconsin Foundry & Machine Co., Madison, castings	15.00
Wolff, Kubly & Hirsig, Madison, hardware	1.95
Edna Zehnpfenig, extra help	36.25
Total	$28,473.30

UNDER SUBSECTION 3

William Abbatt, New York City, books	$26.10
Mrs. John H. Abel, Baltimore, Md., books	20.82
W. F. Adams, Springfield, Mass., books	19.38
Frank Allaben Genealogical Co., New York, books	3.50
American Historical Association, New York, publications	3.00
American Library Association, Chicago, publications	5.00
American Library Assoc. Pub. Board, Chicago, cards	8.82
American Prison Association, Columbus, Ohio, publications	1.50
Americus Book Co., Americus, Ga., books	40.35
Robert Appleton Co., New York, books	21.60
William C. Armstrong, Elizabeth, N. J., books	4.25
T. Astley Atkins, New York, books	3.00
C. B. Bagley, Seattle, Wash., books	10.00
J. Gardner Bartlett, Dorchester, Mass., books	6.00
N. J. Bartlett & Co., Boston, Mass., books	5.00
Edwin Batcheller, Wellesley, Mass., books	16.05
C. N. Baxter, Boston, Mass., newspapers	80.00
Charles Behrens, Chicago, map	1.50
Mrs. H. H. Bennett, Kilbourn, photographs	4.44
G. W. F. Blanchfield, Hartford, Conn., books	25.10
Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind., books	1.50
Boston Athenæum, Boston, newspaper files	33.00
R. R. Bowker Co., New York, books	2.00
Cyrus H. Brown, Westerly, R. I., books	11.75
J. G. B. Bulloch, Washington, D. C., books	2.00

Peter Bulthouse, Chicago, newspaper files	295.25
Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland, Ohio, books	11.00
Cantwell Printing Co., Madison, books	15.00
Carnegie Institution, Dept. of Historical Research, Washington, D. C., transcripts of Mss.	55.10
Carswell Co., Ltd., Toronto, Can., books	458.50
Century Co., New York, books	35.24
Champlain Society, Toronto, Can., publications	10.00
City Club of Chicago, Chicago, books	2.00
A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio, books	468.11
William M. Clemens, New York, books	4.00
P. F. Collier & Sons, New York, books	7.00
J. M. Colton, Philadelphia, books	5.00
John W. Congdon, Toronto, Can., books	24.40
F. W. Curtiss, Madison, photographs	5.00
Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles, Cal., books	11.50
Arthur G. Doughty, Ottawa, Can., photographs of Mss.	25.00
E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, books	64.00
William A. Eardley, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	5.20
Adolf Eckstein, Berlin, Germany, books	61.00
Elm Tree Press, Newark, N. J., books	3.40
Egypt Exploration Fund, Boston, Mass., books	15.00
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., books	5.00
Emery Record Preserving Co., Taunton, Mass., binding manuscripts	343.50
T. F. Fitzgerald, Trenton, N. J., books	3.00
Warren W. Foster, Washington, D. C., books	4.00
Josephine C. Frost, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	10.00
Genealogical Association, Hasbrouck Heights, N. J., books	5.00
Goodpasture Book Co., Nashville, Tenn., books	12.00
William R. Goodspeed, Hartford, Conn., books	30.00
Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, Mass., books	52.25
Goodspeed Historical Publishing Co., Chicago, books	24.00
John Hart, Richmond, Virginia, books	22.00
F. B. Hartranft, Hartford, Conn., books	39.35
T. A. Hay, New York, books	5.00
E. F. Hensel, Whitehall, books	1.75
H. R. Holand, Ephraim, books	10.00
C. S. Hook, Staunton, Va., books	64.00
M. F. Hudson, Washington, D. C., books	5.00
Hudson Book Co., New York, books	162.84
A. B. Hulbert, Marietta, Ohio, maps	50.00
Paul Hunter, Nashville, Tenn., books	59.75

H. R. Huntting Co., Springfield, Mass., books	2.00
Dena D. Hurd, Collegeport, Tex., books	7.50
U. P. James, Cincinnati, Ohio, books	10.50
Journal of Geography, Madison, periodicals	26.68
Hall N. Jackson, Cincinnati, Ohio, books	62.75
J. N. Larned, Buffalo, N. Y., books	10.00
J. S. Lawrence, Grand Rapids, Mich., books	2.50
Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York, books	69.51
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., catalogue cards	40.11
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., photographs of Mss.	3.97
George E. Littlefield, Boston, Mass., books	159.53
W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., Washington, D. C., books	200.00
A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	186.98
Joseph McDonough Co., Albany, N. Y., books	2.50
Newman F. McGirr, Philadelphia, books	4.08
MacGowan-Cooke Printing Co., Chattanooga, Tenn., books	5.00
J. P. MacLean, Franklin, Ohio, books	3.00
Henry Malkan, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	8.40
Isaac Markens, New York, books	3.00
G. C. Martin, Frankford, Pa., book	3.00
J. F. Meegan, Washington, D. C., books	35.25
Meyer News Service Co., Milwaukee, historical clippings	14.85
Military Historical Society, Boston, Mass., books	2.50
Mississippi Valley Historical Assn., Lincoln, Nebr., publications	5.00
W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., periodicals	325.00
Noah F. Morrison, Elizabeth, N. J., books	135.20
O. T. Morton, Monterey, Va., books	2.75
James E. Moseley, Madison, order files	3.00
Museum Book Store, London, Eng., books	45.05
National Assn. State Libraries, Hartford, Conn., publications	5.00
Naval History Society, New York, publications	15.00
C. H. Newton, Naperville, Ill., books	5.00
E. I. Nye, Wellfleet, Mass., books	8.00
North Central Teachers Assn., Oak Park, Ill., publications	2.00
H. A. O'Leary, Brooklyn, N. Y., books	33.95
D. L. Passavant, Zelienople, Pa., books	13.50
E. H. Pendleton, New York, books	6.00
Photo Shop, Madison, photographs	1.00
Charles H. Potter, Haverhill, Mass., books	1.03
Powner's Book Store, Chicago, books	22.50
C. J. Price, Philadelphia, books	2.13
Prince Society, Boston, Mass., books	15.00

W. A. Pryor, La Crosse, books	2.25
Review of Reviews, New York, books	29.45
E. R. Robinson, Troy, N. Y., books	6.15
Rosenbach Co., Philadelphia, books	18.75
Eugene Rouillard, Quebec, Can., books	4.00
J. H. Saumenig & Co., Baltimore, Md., books	5.00
Scarborough Co., Indianapolis, Ind., map	1.95
John E. Scopes & Co., Albany, N. Y., books	3.25
I. D. Seabrook, Charleston, S. C., books	12.25
Shepard Book Co., Salt Lake City, Utah, books	15.16
Sherwood's Inc., New York, books	3.00
Charles N. Sinnett, Carthage, S. Dak., books	4.00
Society of Americana, New York, books	7.50
Somerset Co. Hist. Society, Somerville, N. J., publications	2.00
Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	424.01
Southern Book Exchange, Raleigh, N. C., books	11.50
Southern Historical Society, Richmond, Va., books	3.00
Southern Publication Society, New York, books	60.00
Special Libraries Assn., Boston, Mass., periodical	6.00
G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, books	948.08
J. G. Strange, Pittsburgh, Pa., manuscripts	8.40
G. C. Tanner, Faribault, Minn., books	4.00
Thomas J. Taylor, Taunton, Mass., books	67.35
R. G. Thwaites, Madison, official disbursements for books (small bills)	11.05
Tice & Lynch, New York, books	69.04
R. M. Tingley, Herrick Center, Pa., books	5.00
Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, books	41.55
Charles W. Treat, Chattanooga, Tenn., books	2.50
Ellis B. Usher, Milwaukee, book	1.00
U. S. Indian School, Carlisle, Pa., book	1.00
H. H. Webster, Boston, Mass., pictures	19.00
S. B. Weeks, Trinity, N. C., books	8.00
Oscar Wegelin, New York, books	6.50
Frank J. Wilder, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., books	4.00
H. W. Wilson Co., Minneapolis, Minn., books	40.80
Wisconsin Free Library Commission, Madison, books	82.25
E. A. Wolcott, San Francisco, Cal., books	2.50
Total	$6,295.76

UNDER SUBSECTION 5

American Association of Museums, Philadelphia, publications	$3.00
Cyril Bodenbach, services	8.00
H. N. Brancel, Milwaukee, museum specimens	3.35
Charles E. Brown, museum chief	1,153.22
Charles E. Brown, travelling expenses	35.94
L. W. Brown, Madison, photographs	12.00
Marion Cranefield, services	30.70
Davis Brothers, Kent, Ohio, museum specimens	124.65
W. O. Dumke, Manitowoc, museum specimens	10.50
F. M. Gilham, Highland Springs, Cal., museum specimens	12.60
Phillip Gross Hardware Co., Milwaukee, supplies	2.50
M. J. Grueschow & Son, Milwaukee, museum specimens	3.00
Hamilton Manufacturing Co., Two Rivers, museum case	52.50
Oliver Lemere, Madison, museum specimens	52.00
Lorenz Model Co., Madison, model of pioneer homestead	106.50
Thomas Olsen, Manitowoc, museum specimens	49.00
W. A. Phillips, Milwaukee, museum specimens	50.00
John Rave, Madison, museum specimens	5.00
Thomas R. Roddy, Pashuska, Okla., museum specimens	15.00
Smith Premier Typewriter Co., Milwaukee, typewriter desk	36.00
A. B. Stout, Madison, lantern slides	35.00
E. R. Theby, Green Bay, museum specimens	14.25
T. Van Hyning, Des Moines, Iowa, museum specimens	9.32
Ward's Natural Science Establishment, Rochester, N. Y., museum specimens	4.00
Harold M. White, services	2.00
L. R. Whitney, Milwaukee, museum specimens	106.25
Total	$1,936.28

Resumé

Under subsection 2	$28,473.30
" " 3	6,295.76
" " 5	1,936.28
Total expenditure	$36,705.34

Respectfully submitted,

REUBEN G. THWAITES,
Superintendent.

MADISON, WIS., July 1, 1912.

Reports of Local Auxiliary Societies

Green Bay Historical Society

During the past year the Green Bay Historical Society has held two successful and interesting meetings and made its annual pilgrimage.

The first meeting was held May 26 at the assembly room of the Kellogg Public Library. An interesting paper on the site of the old Jesuit mission of St. Francis Xavier at De Pere, prepared by Mrs. Curtis R. Merrill who had been a resident of that city since 1849, was read by Miss Katharine Merrill, and much discussion ensued thereon.

James H. Elmore also gave a talk about the old harbor and channel leading into Fox River. He told about the first movement for the straight-cut through Grass Island, and deposited with the Society the first map, made by himself and others, showing the soundings, courses, and distances of the proposed new channel, now completed and used. The map is a valuable addition to our records.

The second meeting was held June 12, at the same place. At this time officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President, Arthur C. Neville.
Vice-President, James H. Elmore.
Secretary, Miss Minnie H. Kelleher.
Treasurer, Mrs. William Joannes.

At this meeting it was decided to accept the invitation of the Wisconsin Archæological Society to make an annual pilgrimage to Manitowoc and join them in the meeting at that place. The following committee of arrangements was appointed: Mrs. A. C. Neville, Mrs. J. H. Elmore, and Miss Sarah G. Martin. About fifteen went to Manitowoc and had a most delightful

experience. Automobiles were furnished for all visitors, and the ride through the beautiful country surrounding Manitowoc was exhilarating. A visit was first made to the monument of old Chief Mexico, recently erected by the Manitowoc Historical Society, at which time an excellent address was delivered by Dr. Louis Falge of Manitowoc, who reviewed the life of the chief and his connection with history. We were then driven to the church and mission of St. Nazianz, about eighteen miles from Manitowoc—a very interesting place, where we were received most cordially by the superior of the society and the brothers. We visited the tomb of the founder, in the crypt under the old church, the new church, museum, school, and the stations of the cross in the beautiful grounds surrounding the building. The brothers then invited us to a delicious luncheon served in the refectory. The evening meeting of the Archæological Society was held at the assembly room of the public library, but our members were obliged to take the train for home before the meeting was fairly under way.

Nothing much has been done within the year in the way of investigation or in marking historic sites—partly because of the inclemency of the weather, but mainly because of the lack of funds. But there was considerable discussion upon this subject at both of the meetings, and it seemed to be the opinion of the members present that more work of this character should be done and a determined effort made to raise the necessary money. It was suggested by the president that the site of the old De Langlade dwelling and trading house be ascertained as nearly as possible, and marked; which seemed to meet with general approval.

Mrs. Neville and Miss Sarah Martin were appointed a committee to prepare a programme for the December meeting.

ARTHUR C. NEVILLE, *President.*

GREEN BAY, November 22, 1912.

La Fayette County

The Lafayette County Historical Society is almost unique, in that we have no meetings, no papers, and few members, and still our progress is perhaps the greatest of any county of our size in the State.

This part of Wisconsin is well represented in the volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* having been quite fully written up by Dr. Moses Meeker, Dr. J. G. Percival, Mrs. A. P. Gratiot, Col. Henry Gratiot, Judge Charles Dunn, Judge M. M. Cothren, Gen. Henry Dodge, Gen. Charles Bracken, Col. D. M. Parkinson, Col. W. S. Hamilton, Maj. Peter Parkinson, Hon. A. P. Ladd, Hon. M. M Strong, and others; and we have a comprehensive *History* of the county.

We have added 52 volumes to our library, including Murray's *English Reader*, printed in 1799; and a large Bible, printed in London in 1723 and rescued from a burning building in Alexandria, Va., during the Civil War, by a soldier from this county. Among other accessions are a copy of the *Wisconsin Democrat,* published in territorial days; an English deed, with a commission to Gen. Lucius Fairchild and Col. William F. Vilas to acknowledge the same; bound volumes of the Darlington *Democrat* during the Civil War; letters to the Society from William H. Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Champ Clark; original roster of Company E, Thirty-first Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry; large case containing twenty-six specimens of native birds and small animals; scales, over a hundred years old, with fifteen weights, for testing gold coins; a specimen of Swiss wood carving; a fine Indian war-mace of stone and raw-hide; a set of eight mining tools used here seventy-five years ago; pilot licenses of 1860 and 1867, and old letters and documents. We have also received 44 pictures of old settlers, including H. S. Magoon, Samuel Hamilton, A. B. P. Wood, Hugh Campbell, George Clementson, James Judge, R. A. Murray, John D. Wilson, C. R. Bridgman, David Schreiter, J. S. Waddington, L. E. Johnson, T. C. L. Mackey, J. R. Rose, A. G. Hawley, P. B. Simpson, John E. Duncan, and N. Olmsted. There has also been donated to the Society, fine pictures of U. S. Grant and William E. Gladstone. The museum has been enriched by

more than a hundred specimens, including a bird stone, a trap spider's nest, a sea horse, fragments from Pompeii, a shark's egg, a sunflower fish, corals, petrifactions, sea shells, sponges, banderilla, etc.

The donation that perhaps attracted most attention was a Swiss cow bell, thirty-eight inches in circumference, with a strap six inches wide and ornamented with raw-hide tracery, and the date (1806) in raised letters of raw-hide. This is perhaps the best specimen of the kind in the State.

P. H. Conley, *President.*

Darlington, October 15, 1912.

Manitowoc County

The Manitowoc County Historical Society held no stated meetings during the winter of 1911–12. The officers, however, gave much time to coöperation with a private publishing concern which was at work on a history of the county. As a result the main historical portion of this work was prepared on plans and with a care not often bestowed on works of this nature.

The sole remaining activity of the Society during the year was the entertainment of the Wisconsin Archæological Society on the occasion of that Society's annual pilgrimage on August 23 and 24 of this year. The attendance was quite large and the educational and social features of the gathering were much enjoyed by all. A full account of the addresses is given in the report of the Archæological Society, hence detailed reference thereto need not be given here. One day was spent at the communal colony at St. Nazianz, citizens of Manitowoc generously donating the automobiles with which to convey the sixty guests of the city to that destination. On the second day a beach picnic was carried out upon a site once occupied by Indian graveyards. In all, the sessions were most successful and awakened a healthy local interest in historical and archæological matters.

R. G. Plumb, *Secretary.*

Manitowoc, October 18, 1912.

Sauk County

During the past year the Sauk County Historical Society has held two meetings, a basket picnic, a trip to the State Historical Society's Museum at Madison, and a pilgrimage. At the first meeting of the year the following papers were read:

Sauk County Civil War Incidents, by Emory Wyman of Gibbon, Nebr., read by S. A. Pelton.

Fairfield in the Fifties, by Mrs. John Luce; read by Miss Emma Gattiker.

My Pioneer Journey to Baraboo, by Attorney R. T. Warner of Everett, Wash., read by Mrs. Laura Martin.

Origin of the Word Baraboo, by H. E. Cole.

At this meeting Mrs. Frank Avery was selected as a delegate to the State Historical Society's meeting to be held in Madison. An invitation was extended by Mrs. Frank Avery for a social gathering to be held at her home; the point of meeting was afterwards changed to the home of Mrs. J. G. Train.

At the second meeting, the members of the Society listened to an interesting lecture by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg of the State Historical Society's staff at Madison. She spoke on the migration of the Wisconsin Indians—a history of the Indian tribes that had inhabited this State, their struggles, their clans, their mounds, their native religion, their wanderings, and finally their extinction or segregation on reservations. Maps, pictures of chiefs, and views were shown and the various types of Indians discussed.

The basket picnic was held at the home of Mrs. J. G. Train, who was assisted by Mrs. E. V. Alexander and Mrs. B. F. Mills. The evening with Mrs. Train was one of the pleasantest to be recorded in the annals of the Society. A paper was read by Mrs. Alexander on Wisconsin landmarks, that had been prepared by Mrs. Skinner of Madison. Many views were shown, including the Man Mound tablet and the Yellow Thunder pillar.

The trip to the State Historical Society Museum at Madison was enjoyed by several members of the Society and friends. Charles E. Brown, chief of that division of the parent society's activities, conducted the party and lectured upon the exhibits. A trip of this nature is a feature that other county societies might well consider.

The pilgrimage was made to Prairie du Sac, and is the fourth made by our Society. The members and their friends went from Baraboo and vicinity by carriage and auto, being met at Prairie du Sac by pilgrims from Madison and other points. Prairie du Sac members of the Society and their friends had made every arrangement for the occasion, and a hearty reception was met with. During the forenoon a visit was made to the homes of Edward D. Ochsner and Edward C. Perkins. The former is a well-known taxidermist and his large collection was interesting. Mr. Perkins has assembled more archæological specimens than any other person in this region. At noon a basket picnic was held in Marion Park, at the close of which those present listened to an excellent address by Dr. C. K. Leith, chairman of the department of geology at the State University. He told of his experiences in the Hudson Bay region, where he spent a summer in research work. In the afternoon a trip was made by launch up the Wisconsin River to the site of the big dam, then in course of construction; there, R. G. Walter, engineer of construction, explained the work to the visitors. A large number made the pilgrimage, and the day will be remembered by all as a most pleasant one.

During the year several new members were added to the Society. As usual the historical exhibit at the county fair, which is looked after by the members, brought out some interesting exhibits. The election of officers for the ensuing year will be held some time next month.

H. E. Cole, *President.*
H. K. Page, *Secretary.*

Baraboo, October 23, 1912.

Trempealeau County

The interest manifested by the people of our county during the past year for the Trempealeau County Historical Society is a practical assurance of its entire success. A year ago, our report showed that we had forty-one members; we now have eighty-five, and this increase has taken place without any special solicitation.

Nearly all the efforts of the Society have been directed to-

ward obtaining original sketches and data relating to the pioneer days of our county. Among the many valuable contributions made, may be mentioned "Forty-one years of reminiscences" by Stephen Richmond of Arcadia. In sixty pages of typewritten manuscript Mr. Richmond has left us a wealth of descriptions, observations, and reflections. "Pioneer lawyers of Trempealeau County," by G. Y. Freeman of Galesville, is another valuable acquisition; he was one of the first practitioners in the county, and until recently active in his profession. J. D. Olds, a typical pioneer, with a Robinson Crusoe-like genius for compelling his environment to yield him whatever he needed for support and comfort, has also left with the Society a paper that will in future times be consulted with much interest.

But even at his best, man surveys life from the hilltops; while he is enraptured by visions of the distant future, woman is down in the valley weaving the web of everyday life in a thousand forms. Before her sympathetic eyes pass and repass in endless procession all the trifles and details that eventually require her tact and skill to combine into the harmonious whole of domestic life. It naturally follows that if we would know the real life of a people we must go to woman for our information. During the past year our Society has been fortunate in receiving contributions from several women, descriptive of the pioneer days of Trempealeau County. Mrs. Ida Englesby of Eleva, a daughter of Milo B. Gibson, a pioneer of that part of the county, has given us an admirable sketch of the trials and privations of first settlers during the years 1856 and 1857. Among early teachers who have added to our store of pioneer literature, I take pleasure in mentioning Miss Margaret Anderson, who taught for nearly forty years; Louise Kaas, who has taught continuously for thirty-seven years and is still teaching; and Mrs. Mary Wright, who taught the first school in the district where Pigeon Falls is now located.

Dr. E. D. Pierce is such a constant and frequent contributor of historical material to our Society that a mere mention of his name as such is in a brief report of this kind an inadequate recognition of his services

An old settlers' picnic was held under the auspices of our Society at Trempealeau, June 30 of this year. Antoine Grignon, who first came to this county in 1836 and settled here perma-

nently in 1843, was the guest of honor. Several addresses were made and papers read. Dr. Pierce's paper read on that occasion was a concise summary of historical events leading up to the settlement of Trempealeau, and a beautiful tribute to a long and honorable life in the person of our esteemed pioneer, Antoine Grignon. A resolution was adopted at this meeting appointing a committee to take steps toward getting Mount Trempealeau set aside as a State park.

During the year nearly a hundred portraits of pioneer men and women have been collected, together with biographical sketches of most of those represented by these portraits. Almost complete files of the Galesville *Transcript* from its first issue, March 16, 1860, have been secured by the Society.

Among relics secured during the past year may be mentioned the following: Fur-trader's ax found in the ruins of Fort Perrot; a curious oil lamp used in early days; possibly the first Bible brought into our county by a permanent settler; chest brought from Vermont by Judge Gale, founder of Gale University; a "charm string" of nearly four hundred buttons gathered about forty years ago by a pioneer woman; an old-fashioned ox-yoke, common up to thirty years ago but now difficult to find; an ox shoe; a gun-barrel of olden make, found under the roots of a large tree.

Among the literary productions of Trempealeau County people we now possess: *Drippings from the Eaves,* by Rev. T. Grafton Owen; two volumes of poems by Mr. S. S. Luce and wife; *Upper Mississippi,* by Judge Gale; *Garden of Eden* and *Baptism,* by Rev. D. O. Van Slyke; "Ode to Mount Trempealeau," by Miss Olive Owen, besides numerous addresses, lectures, etc.

The third annual meeting of the Society was held at the courthouse in Whitehall on November 12, being presided over by its venerable president, Capt. A. A. Arnold, now in his eightieth year.

The feature of the meeting was the presentation of descriptions of the different national groups of settlers in this county, and the result was a remarkable series of papers that will do much to establish a closer relationship between them. J. F. Kulig of Independence presented the story of the Poles and Bohemians. John C. Gaveney of Arcadia, that of the Irish; P.

H. Johnson of Whitehall, the Scandinavians; R. S. Cowie of Whitehall, the Scotch; W. S. Wadleigh of Galesville, the English; George Schmidt of Arcadia, the Germans.

A fine summing up of the natural results of the commingling and blending of the various nationalities which have settled in our county was made by G. O. Linderman, of Osseo, in which he pictured the coming and development of "The composite citizen"—the eventual strong, ideal American, who shall combine in his make-up all the better traits of these several peoples and races.

Mr. Charles Freeman's paper on "Trempealeau County women prominent in home, field, and forum," was read in his absence by E. F. Hensel of Whitehall; it was a pleasing tribute to the real home-makers of the county.

Unbroken attention was given to every number on the programme, from 7:30 till 11 o'clock. The papers were interspersed by well-rendered selections of music and song furnished by the Whitehall Band, Arcadia Glee Club, and Luren. The programme was concluded by singing "America" and holding of a business meeting. A. A. Arnold was re-elected president; M. J. Warner, James N. Hunter, and E. J. Matchett, vice-presidents; E. F. Hensel, F. C. Richmond, and J. A. Markham, advisory committee; H. Hoberton, Treasurer; and H. A. Anderson, secretary.

Rev. T. Grafton Owen and Stephen Richmond, members of the Society who had died during the past year, were remembered by well-deserved tributes in the form of memorials and resolutions. A resolution was adopted, committing the Society to an earnest effort to prevail on the legislature to purchase and set apart Mount Trempealeau as a State park. A resolution was also adopted which makes it the duty of the Society's advisory committee to meet on or before the first of January every year for the purpose of arranging for meetings and programmes for the ensuing year. As a fitting close to the exercises of this interesting occasion, a resolution was passed declaring Antoine Grignon of Trempealeau "the guest of honor." The fact that he was present at the meeting, at the age of eighty-four years, is evidence of his interest in the work of the Society.

H. A. Anderson, *Secretary.*

Whitehall, November 13, 1912.

Walworth County

Three members have been added to the Walworth County Historical Society, and three have died, since its last report.

William Pitt Meacham, the first white native of Troy, was a son of Urban Duncan Meacham and Prudence Geddes, a grandson of James Meacham and Patience Wallace, and an adoptive grandson of Major Jesse Meacham, who had married his brother's widow and adopted her three sons. Pitt was born at the site of the village September 27, 1836, and died there November 3, 1911.

Theodore A. Fellows was born in Kalamazoo County, Mich., May 12, 1836. His parents came to Bloomfield in 1840; in 1801 he was mustered into service as a sergeant of Company K., Eighth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and in 1865 he was mustered out as captain, having served in more than thirty battles and skirmishes. He died February 10, 1912, in his seventh year of service as county supervisor for Genoa Junction.

Ira Pratt Larnard was born in Tioga County, N. Y., January 20, 1821. He came to Delavan in 1841; was in various business enterprises as a proprietor, from 1845 until about 1861; was town clerk, 1870–1890, and for several years treasurer of the Baptist Society of Delavan. He was a model record officer, and his memories of men and affairs at Delavan served himself and his friends well until nearly the last day of his long life—May 2, 1912.

These three men have for long been held in honor by their fellow-citizens of the county, and their names have added credit to the roll of our Society's membership.

Within the year a new compilation, purporting to be a history of the county, has been published at Indianapolis. It is in two quarto volumes (1494 pages), of which about three-eighths is in some sense historical and therefore of some value for reference. Its other matter, as here understood, was prepared for the publishers and their subscribers by Clyde Edwin Tuck, of Indianapolis. A copy of this work has been secured for the Society.

Mr. Eames succeeds Mr. Carswell as treasurer. The other officers continue in their old places.

A. C. Beckwith, *President.*

Elkhorn, October 24, 1912.

Waukesha County

The Waukesha County Historical Society holds only two meetings during the year—the annual on the first Saturday in May, and a meeting during the first week in September.

At the annual meeting for 1912, held in the parlors of the Congregational church at Waukesha, James A. McKenzie was elected president. The secretary and treasurer were re-elected, and J. H. A. Lacher, A. V. B. Dey, and F. E. Tichenor were elected vice-presidents. The advisory committee was re-elected.

A report of progress was read by the Cushing monument committee. A letter from the state secretary of the Daughters of the American Revolution was read, stating that a resolution had been adopted by the Wisconsin conference of the D. A. R. endorsing the sentiment of this Society in its desire to preserve from destruction the old cemeteries where Wisconsin pioneers were buried, and that the D. A. R. chapters would interest themselves locally in furthering this sentiment by appeal, when occasion requires, to townships or municipal authorities and legislators.

An invitation from Henry Becker and Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Kunz to hold the September meeting in Delafield was accepted. Mr. Lacher presented a desk for the preservation of records, letters, and books. Twelve new members were added to the Society at this meeting. Lauren Barker read a paper on "Pioneers of Brookfield", and George R. Rice on "Welsh pioneers of Waukesha County." Miss M. E. Stewart presented a paper on "Reminiscences of early school-teaching days." Fine vocal solos were given by Mrs. Olsen and the Misses Tichenor and Minor. Luncheon was served by the ladies of Waukesha, and members and guests were treated to a delightful auto ride to points of interest in and near the city. An exhibition of shoes of the olden time was made at this meeting by Mr. Lacher.

A meeting of the board of directors was called by the president in July, 1912, to consider some needed amendments to the by-laws. A motion was made and carried that the following amendments be submitted for consideration at the September meeting:

All that part of Article I of the by-laws referring to residence of members to be stricken out, and the following substituted therefor:

Art. I, Section I. Any person interested in the work of this Society is eligible to membership.

Sec. 2. Honorary members may be proposed and elected in the same manner as regular members.

Sec. 3. Any member may at any regular meeting propose the name of any person he may regard as suitable for membership.

The meeting of September 5 was held at Nestledown, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Kunz and of Henry Becker, in Delafield. The foregoing amendments to the by-laws were adopted. Mrs. Edwards, chairman of the committee on cemeteries, read a circular letter prepared by that committee, with the suggestion that the Society authorize the printing, and that 500 copies be sent to societies, clubs, churches, and other associations.

Mrs. Whitney donated to the Society a number of magazines fifty or more years old. Mrs. Richard Humphrey donated the *Portrait and Biographical Record* of Waukesha County. Six honorary and eight active members were elected. After an address of welcome by the president, the members and guests joined in singing "Auld Lang Syne." Mrs. Persis Stickney Searl gave an interesting account of pioneer life in the town of Vernon. A letter from Edwin H. Park of Denver, and a short historical sketch by his mother, of Seattle, once residents of Vernon, were read by the secretary.

Dr. A. J. W. Nixon read a communication from Judge George H. Noyes on "the Cushing matter," and a letter from Col. J. A. Watrous on the same subject was read by Mr. Kunz. The report of the Delafield Cushing committee was read by the secretary. The owners of the site of the Cushing birthplace offered it at a reasonable rate, also to donate a right of way to the public road; Judge Noyes offered to donate three acres. A resolution to accept these offers was passed, providing such acceptance meet the approval of the governor of Wisconsin. A valuable gift to the Society was a picture of the "Albemarle," with the autograph of the builder, Gilbert Elliott, coming from Capt. Lloyd G. Harris of St. Louis.

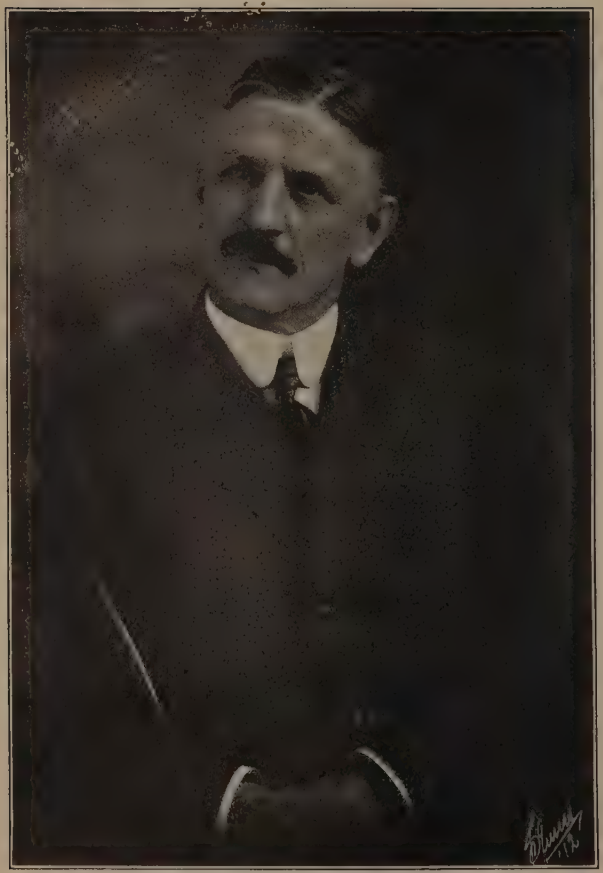
The audience joined in singing "Tenting tonight" and "Home, sweet home," and solos were sung by Mr. Kunz and his daughter, Miss Janet Kunz. A luncheon was served by the ladies of Delafield and a very pleasant social hour was enjoyed.

Since the meeting another acre of land has been promised,

also several hundred dollars and all the gravel needed for a concrete bridge; and eleven applications for membership have been received.

JULIA A. LAPHAM, *Secretary.*

OCONOMOWOC, October 22, 1912.



Frank Heywood Hodder

Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act

By Frank Heywood Hodder

Current events portend a new era of American political history. The division in the Republican party suggests the disruption of the Democratic party in 1860 and the earlier origin of the Republican party itself. The Republican party resulted directly from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. It is still generally believed that this measure was proposed by Stephen A. Douglas in furtherance of his selfish ambition for the presidency. This is the view of the standard histories of Schouler and Rhodes, of Professor Smith's volume in Hart's "American Nation" series and of a recent popular life of Douglas by Henry Parker Willis. Stephen Arnold Douglas, with the accent on the Arnold, has been the cry of all, ever since von Holst gave currency to the phrase. Before entering on a new era of party history it may not be amiss to inquire whether we have correctly appraised the event that ushered in the present one.

The Kansas-Nebraska act was the resultant of four distinct elements. Of these the first and most important was the agitation for a transcontinental railroad which was begun by Asa Whitney in 1845. While Whitney's specific plan was eventually rejected, it was he who aroused public interest and convinced the American people of the necessity of a Pacific railroad. Action was, however, long delayed by rivalry between the various candidates for the eastern terminus of the road.[1]

[1] For contest over eastern terminus of the Pacific railroad, see John P. Davis, *Union Pacific Railway* (Chicago, 1894), chap. iii. Other considerations delayed the building of the road, such as controversy over the power of the federal government and the mode of construction.

Eastern interests, controlling navigation upon the Great Lakes and the Erie canal, and owning the railways centering in Chicago, wanted a road west from Chicago through Iowa and by way of South Pass to the Pacific. Somewhat later, with the development of Minnesota and Oregon, a project emerged for a road much farther north connecting Lake Superior and the Columbia. St. Louis wanted the road west through Missouri and thence across the mountains. The principal southern routes contemplated an outlet on the Atlantic at Charleston. Memphis, expecting to connect with Charleston by roads projected and in part under construction, wanted a road to Albuquerque and thence, either by Walker's pass or the Gila, to California. Vicksburg, also expecting through connection with Charleston, wanted a road west through Shreveport to El Paso and thence by the Gila route to San Diego. Southern Louisiana and Texas were both unwilling to have the Pacific trade carried north of them by rail to Charleston and wanted an outlet on the Gulf. Thus the situation was inextricably confused. Not only was there sectional division between the North and West on the one hand and the South on the other, but Northern interests were divided between three distinct routes and Southern interests between as many more. The rivalry was all the keener because it was supposed at that time that not more than one Pacific railway would ever be needed and that the first one constructed would remain the permanent highway across the continent.

Besides rivalry for the eastern terminal, two other influences blocked Pacific railway legislation. The Pacific Steamship Company, owned by New York capital, operated a line of steamships to Panama, and in 1849 incorporated a company for the construction of a railway across the Isthmus of Panama. At the same time New Orleans capital was promoting a railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Thus steamship and isthmus railway interests both in New York and New Orleans were opposed to any transcontinental railway at all.

At the beginning, Pacific railway projects necessarily favored a northern route, as that was the only one then within the territory of the United States; but with the acquisition of New Mexico and California the tables were turned. The Mexican

War was fought quite as much in the interest of the expansion of Southern trade as in the interest of the extension of slave territory. The South wanted California and the trade with the Orient. Trist's instructions called for the cession of Southern California and a boundary along the line of the thirty-second parallel. He failed to get Southern California and had to content himself with the Gila River as a boundary; coupled, however, with the provision that if upon examination it should prove more advantageous to build a railroad on the south bank of the river, Mexico would make an agreement allowing its construction.

In 1849 Benton introduced his first bill in the Senate for a great central national highway from St. Louis to San Francisco, between the parallels of thirty-eight and thirty-nine, and in 1850 made his famous speech in favor of what he called "the buffalo trail." In both years conventions were held in different parts of the country in the interest of the various terminals. Stephen A. Douglas presided over the convention held at St. Louis in 1849. While the convention declared for a St. Louis terminal, a resolution in favor of Benton's buffalo trail was defeated, and one in favor of the South Pass route substituted, a route that logically required an Iowa and Chicago terminal.

Above all other things Douglas was interested in the railroad development of the West. More than any other man he contributed to the upbuilding of the city of Chicago by making it the railroad centre of the Middle West. In 1850 he carried through the land grant for the Illinois Central, by which he bound together the northern and southern sections of his own state and eventually joined the Great Lakes and the Gulf. With respect to the Pacific railway question, Douglas was in a difficult position. His private interests and those of the people of northern Illinois were bound up in the development of Chicago, where he lived. Southern Illinois on the other hand was tributary to St. Louis, and the interests of that section demanded a St. Louis terminal. If Douglas favored a Chicago terminal, he sacrificed the interests of the people of southern Illinois and laid himself open to the charge of favoring his private interests. If he favored a St. Louis terminal, he sacrificed his own interests and those of his Northern constituents. It is somewhat significant that the St.

Louis convention, over which he presided, while declaring for a St. Louis terminal, nevertheless adopted a route that logically required a Chicago terminal.

The organization of New Mexico in 1850 gave supporters of the southern route a great advantage. It was indispensably necessary that the territory through which the road was to be built, be organized, in order to provide means for building it by the sale of land and in order to provide both protection and business after the road should be built. Unless the northern territory could also be organized, the chance of securing a northern route was lost.

The second element in the Kansas-Nebraska situation was the difficulty in the way of organizing this region, presented by the controversy respecting its status as to slavery. The Missouri Compromise provided that slavery in this region should forever be prohibited, but the question whether "forever" meant forever or was limited to the territorial period was left open at the time; and each side, as is usual in such cases, put its own interpretation upon the term. When Texas was annexed in 1845, Douglas tried to apply the principle to which, nine years later, he gave the name of popular sovereignty, by moving that states admitted from Texas be slave or free as their people should desire; but it was decided to restrict this provision to states formed south of the Missouri Compromise line, and Douglas himself moved the clause which declared that states formed north of this line should forever be free. Thus Douglas and the majority in Congress at that time accepted the Northern interpretation, that "forever" meant forever.

The question of the status of slavery in the territories was revived by the discussion of the organization of Oregon and of the territory to be acquired from Mexico. In this discussion two opinions developed with respect to the power of Congress: one that Congress had plenary power and might either prohibit slavery altogether or divide the territory by a compromise line; and the other, formulated by Calhoun, that slavery was guaranteed by the Constitution and that Congress could neither prohibit it in the territory nor allow the people to do so. The Democrats divided on this issue in the campaign of 1848 and a part of them organized the Free Soil

party. Cass undertook in his famous Nicholson letter to evade the issue by taking the ground that slavery was a local question to be decided by the people of each state, subject however to the Constitution.[2] In other words the question of slavery was to be left to the people of each state—if the Constitution would admit, but not if the Constitution would not. This was a resort to the familiar expedient of a plank that could be construed one way in one section and the opposite way in the other, Cass's object being not only to secure the nomination for the presidency, but also to preserve the integrity of his party.

The Compromise of 1850 admitted California as a free state and organized the territories of Utah and New Mexico with the proviso that, when admitted as states, they should be received with or without slavery as their constitutions should prescribe at the time of their admission. The territorial bills were drafted by Douglas and finally passed in the exact form in which he originally reported them. In the admission of California the North gained an extra state and it was therefore the turn for the admission of a slave state. The South would not organize a free territory in the trans-Missouri region, which would certainly become another free state, and the North would not open this region to slavery by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; but, unless it could be organized, there was no hope for a northern route for the Pacific railroad.

The third element in the Kansas-Nebraska situation was the local demand that developed in Missouri and Iowa for the organization of Nebraska for the express purpose of furnishing a route for the Pacific railway. The development of the movement in Missouri has been admirably traced by Professor Ray.[3] Opposition to Benton's continuance in the Senate had

[2] There is an excellent study by M. M. Quaife, *The doctrine of non-intervention with slavery in the territories* (Chicago 1910) which by reason of having been privately printed as a doctor's thesis, is less known than it deserves to be.

[3] P. O. Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise* (Cleveland, 1909). Unfortunately Professor Ray has made the presentation of this subject a basis for the untenable theory that the Kansas–Nebraska act was the work of Atchison. The force of Atchison's drunken speech is broken by his later utterances. It was Dixon who forced direct repeal. Atchi-

been long gathering in Missouri, and the validity of the Missouri prohibition was made the issue between his supporters and opponents. In 1847 the Bentonites carried a resolution in the state legislature, affirming the validity of the Missouri Compromise; but by 1849 Claigorne F. Jackson's counter-resolutions were carried, denouncing the Missouri prohibition, affirming that the right to prohibit slavery in a territory belonged to the people of the territory and instructing their senators to act accordingly. Benton made these instructions the issue of his campaign for reëlection, and was defeated by a coalition of the Anti-Bentonites and Whigs. He was immediately sent to the House by the St. Louis district, and in 1853 began a campaign for election to the Senate to succeed Atchison upon the platform of a Missouri terminal for the Pacific railway and the immediate opening of Nebraska to settlement in order to secure it. The organization of Nebraska was not needed by the Westward movement, as there were still in Missouri thousands of acres of unoccupied land, but it was indispensable to a Missouri terminus for the Pacific railroad. Under Benton's inspiration, numerous meetings were held in western Missouri, which sent memorials to Congress asking the immediate organization of Nebraska.

The development of a similar movement in Iowa has not yet been traced in detail; but between 1850 and 1853, under the leadership of Senators Dodge and Jones, numerous public meetings were held in the western part of the state, requesting the immediate organization of Nebraska. Hadley D. Johnson says that he removed from Indiana to Council Bluffs in 1850 with the expectation that it would be the eastern terminus of the transcontinental railroad; and that, with this end in view, he supported in the Iowa senate in 1852 the petition for land grants for three Iowa railroads converging there.[4] Thus it appears that the validity of the Missouri Compromise had for some time

son was allied with the Calhoun wing of the Democrats, and would not have fathered a bill which assumed to establish popular sovereignty. As will appear later, Dodge of Iowa was the associate of Douglas in the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska act.

[4] Hadley D. Johnson, "How the Kansas–Nebraska boundary line was established", in Nebraska State Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, ii, pp. 80–92. Council Bluffs was then called Kanesville.

been an issue in Missouri and that there had developed in both Missouri and Iowa a considerable demand for the organization of Nebraska, and that this was desired in each state for the purpose of securing the eastern terminus of the Pacific railroad.

The fourth element in the Kansas-Nebraska situation was the result of the movement in Missouri and Iowa. This was the demand for organization, in the territory itself, by the emigrant Indian tribes under the leadership of the Wyandots.[5] The Wyandots removed from Ohio in 1843 and settled on the west bank of the Missouri at the mouth of the Kansas. They were intelligent people with an organized government, and, while nominally Indian, were predominantly white in blood. They realized that the dissolution of their tribal relations was only a question of time, and wanted to secure the eastern terminus of the Pacific railroad and the opening of the territory to settlement in order to sell their lands at the highest possible price. In the fall of 1852 they sent Abelard Guthrie as a delegate to Congress to urge organization. In the summer of 1853 a convention of the emigrant tribes and of the white men in the territory was held at Wyandot, which passed elaborate resolutions[6] declaring for Benton's central route for the Pacific railway, asking for the organization of Nebraska Territory, establishing a provisional government, and providing for the election of a territorial delegate to Congress.

At the ensuing election for territorial delegate the Rev. Thos.

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[5] This subject was developed in 1899 by William E. Connelley in his "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory", issued as *Id.* iii. The material is repeated in Kansas State Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vi, pp. 97–110. With the enthusiasm of a discoverer, Mr. Connelley exaggerates the importance of the movement. Hadley Johnson's article (see *ante*, note 4) and Connelley's book (p. 31) are the earliest suggestions that I have found of the influence of the Pacific railroad route upon the organization of Kansas and Nebraska.

[6] This meeting was promoted and the resolution drawn by Maj. William Gilpin, a supporter of Benton and afterward first territorial governor of Colorado. Gilpin had secured the adoption of similar resolutions at Independence, Mo., in 1849. See appendix to his *Central Gold Region* (Philadelphia, 1860). Mr. Connelley writes me that he was mistaken in supposing that the resolutions were in the handwriting of W. T. Dyer, chairman of the committee on resolutions.

Johnson, Methodist missionary to the Shawnees at Westport, was chosen. Hearing that an election for territorial delegate had been called and fearing that their railroad interests would suffer at the hands of a delegate chosen by the inhabitants of the southern part of the territory, the people of Council Bluffs crossed the river on the appointed day and elected Hadley D. Johnson delegate. Both Johnsons proceeded to Washington, and, while their influence was probably slight, nevertheless the presence of two representatives from the territory urging its organization could not have been wholly without effect. This summary of the elements that entered into the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act discloses the fact that at every point the purpose was to secure a northern route for the Pacific railway.

The events in the struggle over the location of this railroad indicate that the organization of Nebraska was a part of the larger controversy. Douglas served in the House from 1843 to 1847, and in the Senate from 1847 until his death in 1861. As early as 1845 he proposed a grant of land to the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, for a railroad from Lake Erie by way of Chicago and Rock Island to the Missouri River, and prepared a bill for the organization of the territories of Nebraska and Oregon and a land grant to them for a railway from the Missouri River to the Pacific.[7] Nothing came of the proposals, as the title to Oregon was still in dispute and California had not yet been acquired. They are significant only as showing that these two purposes were coupled in Douglas's mind from the beginning of his national career, and at a time when serious agitation for a Pacific railway had hardly begun. In December, 1845, he was made chairman of the House committee on territories. When he was elected to the Senate in 1847, he transferred the House chairmanship to his friend and political lieutenant William A. Richardson, just elected to Congress for the first time, and was himself elected to the chairmanship of the corresponding Senate committee and continued in that position for over ten years. The organization of the

[7] J. Madison Cutts, *Brief treatise upon constitutional and party questions* (New York, 1866), p. 218.

territories thus became the principal business of his political life.[8]

In 1848, during both sessions of the Thirtieth Congress, Douglas introduced bills for the organization of Nebraska, but without result. The stream of emigration that poured over the Oregon trail after the discovery of gold in California, demonstrated the necessity of organization, but the struggle over the Compromise of 1850 postponed the subject for the time being. The whole history of the subsequent discussion of Pacific railway projects indicates the co-operation of Douglas and of Dodge of Iowa, both working for a Chicago and Iowa terminal for the road. During the first session of the Thirty-second Congress, the Senate passed (March 17, 1852) a bill introduced by Senator Jones of Iowa and amended by Senator Dodge, providing for the grant of land to Iowa for the construction of two railroads—one, north and south, from Dubuque to Keokuk, and the other, east and west, from Davenport to the Missouri River.[9] A month later (April 22) Douglas introduced a bill for the protection of the emigrant route and for a telegraph line and overland mail from the Missouri River to California and Oregon. At the beginning of the second session of the Thirty-second Congress the Douglas bill was referred to a special committee, which, February 1, 1853, reported a substitute bill for the construction of a Pacific railway, leaving to the president the designation of the route and terminus. The bill was buried by adjournment on February 22, Douglas insisting upon putting every senator on record by calling for the yeas and nays. The next day the Senate voted an appropriation for the survey of the several routes under the direction of the secretary of war, coupled with the requirement

[8] An excellent study is Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1908). Professor Johnson, however, represents the Pacific railroad as "crossing the path" of the Kansas-Nebraska Act rather than as its mainspring (see pp. 222 and 238), and he does not develop the extent of Douglas's activity in behalf of a Pacific railroad and the Iowa route.

[9] Louis Pelzer, *Augustus Cæsar Dodge* (State Hist. Soc. of Iowa *Biographical Series*), chap. xiii; chap. xii treats of the Pacific railroad. The natural order of these chapters is reversed.

that reports of the surveys be laid before Congress on the first Monday in February, 1854.

While the Senate was debating the Pacific railroad bill, the House passed a bill for the organization of Nebraska. December 13, 1852, Hall of Missouri reported a bill for the organization of the Territory of the Platte, which was referred to the committee on territories. February 2, 1853, Richardson reported from this committee a substitute bill for the organization of Nebraska, without mention of slavery, and the bill passed February 10 by a vote of 98 to 43. Nearly all the votes against the bill came from the South, and both Hall and Richardson [10] charged in the debate that they were based upon opposition to a northern route for the Pacific railway. Replying to Howard of Texas, Mr. Hall said: "He wishes to treat with those Indians, to go through that slow process and in the meantime all the great objects of the bill will be lost and the emigration to the Pacific will be driven to another portion of the Union from the route that it now follows." Elsewhere in the speech he exclaimed: "Everybody is talking about a railroad to the Pacific. In the name of God, how is a railroad to be made, if you will never let people live on the lands through which it passes?"[11] Douglas made repeated efforts to get the House bill before the Senate. On the last day of the session (March 3, 1853) it was laid on the table by a vote of 27 to 17. Of those voting, every Southern senator voted against the bill, except the two from Missouri,[12] and every Northern senator for it, except five from the Northeast. Opposition in both houses was ostensibly based on the fact that the Indian title had not been extinguished, although the bill provided that it should not take effect until this had been done. The only progress that was made toward organization was the passage of an appropriation for the extinction of this title.

Professor Ray argues upon two grounds, that the votes on the Richardson bill do not indicate that the opposition was

[10] Richardson's speech is quoted by Ray, p. 241. Ray erroneously says that it is the only reference to the subject in the debate.

[11] 32 Cong., 2 sess., *Congressional Globe*, pp. 560, 562, 563.

[12] 32 Cong., 2 sess., *Senate Journal*, p. 322.

connected with the rivalry over the Pacific railway route: first, that in the Senate twenty-two members did not vote at all; and second, that in the House two members from Louisiana and a considerable part of the New York delegation voted for the bill and only one of the Texas members against it.[13] In regard to the Senate vote, it may be said that it equalled the average vote of the session and that it was taken on the last day, after many members had gone home. In regard to the House vote, it will be remembered that the South was itself divided on the subject of the Pacific railroad. Louisiana and southern Texas were opposed to a road with an outlet at Charleston, and Louisiana was interested in the proposed Tehuantepec railroad. The two Louisiana votes for Nebraska may have been intended to offset the Southern project, and the failure of one of the two Texas members to vote is not surprising.[14] New York interests were divided between the Pacific Steamship and Panama Railway companies on the one hand and the Erie canal on the other. Erie canal interests required a northern route for the Pacific railway, and a division of the vote in that quarter was therefore to be expected. The vote does not therefore militate against the theory that Pacific railway considerations influenced the attitude of the House toward the organization of Nebraska. The situation was, however, too complex to render it possible to interpret the vote from any single point of view.

During the summer of 1853, Jefferson Davis dispatched the exploring expeditions ordered by Congress to examine the several routes under discussion for the proposed transcontinental railway, and their reports were expected early in the following year. Preliminary surveys of the Gila route had indicated that a railroad in that quarter could best be built south of the river, and it had come to be realized that it was not practicable to

[13] Ray, pp. 239–241.

[14] It should be said that Howard, who opposed the bill, was from San Antonio, and that Scurry, who did not vote, came from Clarkesville in northern Texas. Scurry, whose failure to vote impresses Professor Ray, appears, despite his name, not to have been a very active member of Congress. He is referred to but three times in the index to the *Globe*, for this session: the first time he arrived nearly a month late; the second time he moved to adjourn; and the third time he announced that he had paired.

build a road in Mexican territory as contemplated by the treaty of Guadaloupe. Accordingly, President Pierce sent to Mexico General Gadsden, president of the Charleston road with which the proposed Pacific road was to connect, with instructions to purchase the necessary territory south of the Gila, and by December 30 he had done so.[15] Colonel Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs, was sent by the secretary of the interior to the Indian tribes of the Northwest with instructions to make a preliminary survey and to negotiate treaties at his discretion. Manypenny consorted with Southern men while in the territory and returned without negotiating any treaties, reporting that it was confidently believed that the necessary treaties could be secured in the following spring, at which time it was expected that the southern Pacific road would be definitely located. If anything were to be done to prevent it, it must be done quickly.

Douglas spent the summer of 1853 in Europe and returned a month before the opening of Congress. Soon after his return he wrote a confidential letter[16] indicating that the subjects uppermost in his mind were the disposition of the surplus, the river and harbor question, and the Pacific railroad. Referring to his own chances for the presidency, he said: "The party is in distracted condition and it requires all our wisdom, prudence, and energy to consolidate its powers and perpetuate its principles. Let us leave the presidency out of view for at least two years to come."

The first session of the Thirty-third Congress convened on December 5, 1853. On the first day of the session Dodge of Iowa, as chairman of the committee on public lands, gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill for the organization of Nebraska, and on the 14th introduced a bill identical in form with the Richardson bill of the preceding session. The bill was referred to the committee on territories and returned by Douglas January 4, 1854 with amendments, accompanied by his

[15] Gadsden was not nominated minister to Mexico until February 2, 1854, was confirmed February 13, and the treaty was not ratified until April 28; see Senate *Executive Journal*. The treaty included other subjects than the boundary.

[16] Letter to Lanphier and Walker, Nov. 11, 1853; Johnson, pp. 226–228; Ray, pp. 185, 186.

famous report. The amendments consisted of the insertion in the bill of two clauses taken verbatim from the Utah and New Mexico acts, which Douglas had himself drawn and which both parties professed to accept as a final settlement of the slavery controversy. The first clause provided that "when admitted as a state or states, the said territory * * * shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe at the time of their admission". The second clause provided that questions involving title to slaves should be determinable in the local courts, subject to appeal to the supreme court of the United States. The report explained that the committee did not assume either to affirm or deny the Missouri Compromise, but that they considered that its effect was limited to the territorial period and that the question of its validity during that period was a judicial one.

Douglas saw that he could not secure the organization of Nebraska and thus pave the way for a northern route for the Pacific railway without some concession to the South. In the original bill this concession consisted in limiting the force of the Missouri Compromise to the territorial period. The provision that the question of the validity of the prohibition during the territorial period should go to the courts, was a concession only in appearance, since it belonged and would have gone to the courts in any event. Six days later (January 10), Douglas made a second concession by adding a section to the bill which was evidently intended to apply the principle of popular sovereignty to the territory. His hand was further forced by Dixon's motion for direct repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and January 24 he brought in a second bill which declared the Compromise inoperative on the ground that it was superseded by the principles of the Compromise of 1850. This was verbal jugglery intended to cover his defeat. February 7 he made another amendment, forced upon him by the Democratic caucus, which applied popular sovereignty, in Cass's phrase, "subject to the Constitution". Douglas did not originally intend to repeal the Missouri Compromise, but having made one concession he made a second and then was forced to make a third and a fourth. His object was clearly to secure the organization of the territory at any cost. He may be blamed for yielding to pressure, but the facts disprove the charge that

he set out to repeal the Missouri Compromise in order to win support for the presidency. He yielded to pressure to save the party. The Whig party had been destroyed by the Compromise of 1850, and the Democratic party was "in distracted condition". Northern Democrats refused to extend slave territory, and Southern Democrats demanded a guarantee of slavery in all territory. Douglas hoped to save the party by accepting Cass's expedient of relegating the question of slavery to the people of the territories, "subject to the Constitution." He failed to save the party but he did succeed in postponing its disruption until 1860.

The amended Nebraska bill substituted two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, for a single one. It is a part of the Douglas tradition that two territories were created in order that one might be slave. Douglas at the time clearly stated the reason for two territories.[17] The two Johnsons, and, what was far more important, the representatives of both Iowa and Missouri, demanded two territories. Dodge's speech on this point reveals the extent to which the question of the route for the Pacific railway was the controlling one. "Originally", said Dodge, "I favored the organization of one territory, but representations from our constituents, and a more critical examination of the subject—having an eye to the systems of internal improvement, which must be adopted by the people of Nebraska and Kansas to develop their resources—satisfied my colleague, who was a member of the committee who reported this bill, and myself that the great interests of the whole country and especially of our state demand two territories, otherwise the seat of government and leading thoroughfares must have fallen south of Iowa".[18] As Professor Johnson puts it: "One territory meant aid to the central route; two territories meant an equal chance for both northern and central routes. As the representative of Chicago interests, Douglas was not blind to these considerations."

This session of Congress was too much engrossed by the Kansas-Nebraska controversy to consider seriously the Pacific railroad question. A select committee on the subject was ap-

[17] Johnson, pp. 238, 239.

[18] 33 Cong., 1 sess., *Congressional Globe*, App., p. 382.

pointed in each house. Gwin of California was chairman of the Senate committee, but Douglas appears to have been its moving spirit. March 13, 1854, a joint bill providing for two roads, one at the south and the other west from Minnesota, was introduced in both houses but was not considered in the Senate and was laid on the table in the House. Douglas did not intend that it should be passed, but was playing for time until Nebraska should be organized. Having organized Nebraska he was ready for the fray.

At the second session of this Congress, January 9, 1855, Douglas reported his railroad bill in the Senate and it was referred to the select committee and reported back on the 15th. The bill provided for three roads: one west from Texas, another west from Missouri or Iowa, and a third west from Minnesota. Within the limits designated, the bill left the location of the roads to the contractors.[29] The day after the bill was reported back to the Senate, Dunbar of Louisiana moved to substitute it for the bill pending in the House. Two days later, John G. Davis of Indiana moved to amend by substituting a single road west from Iowa or Missouri, and in this form the bill was passed; but some question arising as to pairs, Benton rallied the opposition and it was lost upon reconsideration by a single vote. In the Senate, Guyer of Missouri opposed the bill on the ground that the Eastern interests would choose the Iowa terminal, since they would furnish the capital and already owned the Chicago and Iowa roads. Douglas, nevertheless, carried it through the Senate (February 19) but it was not again taken up in the House.

February 27, Jefferson Davis made his final report on the Pacific railway surveys, in which he recommended the adoption of the Gila route. Douglas had a weakness for sharp parliamentary practice. The substitution of his bill in the House and the restriction to a single central road look very much like a prearranged plan.[30] Had the bill passed the House there

[29] See *Id*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., p. 749, for text of the bill.

[30] Notice that the member who moved substitution in the House was from Louisiana. John G. Davis made a speech at the preceding session in favor of a single central road: 33 Cong., 1 sess., *Congressional Globe*, App., p. 961. It would be interesting to know the relations between Douglas and Davis.

is little doubt that he could have carried it through the Senate before Davis's report was received. Douglas thus missed by a single vote in the House accomplishing the purpose for which he had organized Nebraska.

The excitement over the struggle in Kansas and the pending presidential election was so great that it was impossible to secure any Pacific railway legislation during the Thirty-fourth Congress; but in 1856 both parties declared in their platforms for a transcontinental road. The Gwin bill, introduced in the Senate during the first session of the Thirty-fifth Congress, provided for a road between San Francisco and some point on the Missouri River between the mouths of the Big Sioux and the Kansas, and Douglas made a speech in its support. As it finally passed the Senate at the following session, it provided for three roads, which was equivalent to making no provision at all for a road, as everyone knew that only one could be built at a time. Sectional feeling had been so intensified that the chance had passed of securing agreement on any one route.

When the Kansas-Nebraska act is considered in connection with the discussion of the Pacific railroad routes which preceded and followed it, the conclusion is irresistible that it was passed chiefly in furtherance of the project for the Chicago and Iowa route. If, however, that purpose had been alleged at the time, it would have prevented its passage. The excitement over the Missouri Compromise obscured the real issue and carried the bill. While Douglas failed by the narrowest possible margin of accomplishing his ulterior object, he nevertheless blocked the building of the southern road which in 1853 was upon the eve of accomplishment. He incidentally blocked the project for the absorption of all Mexico, which Jefferson Davis intended should follow the building of the southern road,[12] and he very possibly saved California to the Union, since a southern road, built before the war, might easily have carried that state into the Confederacy.

Professor Ray argues that Douglas was not controlled by Pacific railway considerations in proposing the Kansas-

[12] W. E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 161.

Nebraska act, for the reason that he never alleged that ground, when hard-pressed, as he afterwards was, to defend his course.[22] The difficulty of Douglas's position in his own state has already been noted. He could not openly favor either a Chicago or a St. Louis terminal without losing support in one section of it or the other. His position was similar in the Union. He remained a presidential candidate until his final nomination and defeat. If at any time he had explained that the act generally accepted as a concession to the South was in reality intended to sacrifice Southern to Northern railway interests, he would instantly have lost all Southern support.

Professor Johnson has pointed out that the vote in the Democratic convention of 1852 indicates that Douglas was under no necessity of currying favor in the South, but that he was weakest in the Middle States.[23] If Douglas had his presidential aspirations in mind in proposing the organization of Nebraska, it is more reasonable to suppose that he expected that a Chicago terminal for the Pacific railroad would strengthen him with the Eastern interests and win support where he most needed it. The South did not desert him until popular sovereignty failed to make Kansas a slave state.

Douglas was an opportunist in politics. He had neither the insight nor the foresight of a great statesman. He failed utterly to realize the force of the rising anti-slavery sentiment in the North. He did not foresee the length to which he would have to go in order to organize Nebraska, nor the opposition that it would arouse. He anticipated neither the struggle that popular sovereignty precipitated in Kansas nor the fact that it would be undermined by the supreme court. When that court decided against it, he was compelled to fall back upon the doctrine of unfriendly legislation, promulgated at Freeport. This enabled Lincoln to say that Judge Douglas claims that "a thing may be lawfully driven away from where it has a lawful right to be."

Nevertheless Douglas was the dominant force in American politics during the decade from 1850 to 1860. Lincoln was

[22] Ray, p. 242.
[23] Johnson, p. 206.

exceptional, Douglas was typical. In highest degree he typified the new West, its vigor, its optimism, and its crudity. The parallel is a striking one between Webster's seventh-of-March speech and Douglas's organization of Kansas and Nebraska. Both men were accused of bidding for Southern support for the presidency. It is now admitted that Webster's course was dictated by devotion to the Union. It ought to be equally clear that Douglas's was controlled by devotion to the development of the West. But when the supreme test came, Douglas knew neither North nor South, East nor West, but threw all his strength into the fight for the Union. The minor faults of his political career were more than atoned for in its close. "Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it."

Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data[1]

By John Thomas Lee

I

Since the publication of "A Bibliography of Carver's Travels"[2] sufficient historical and bibliographical material has been collected to warrant the preparation of a supplementary paper. But at the outset it is proper to say that this paper is not in any sense a connected account of the career of Jonathan Carver; it is merely what its title implies, and as such is presented in the hope that it will aid the future historian in forming a truer estimate than has heretofore been possible of the first English-speaking traveller, during the British régime, in what is now Wisconsin.

The subject of the authorship of the *Travels* and its author's place in Western history is not of great importance; yet nevertheless it is desirable, in view of the attack upon Carver, to present all available evidence which will tend to settle or elucidate

[1] It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many favors extended by Mr. Albert Matthews of Boston. In gathering these facts about Captain Carver he has aided with the instinctive courtesy and generosity of the scholar. Knowing the writer's interest in the subject, Mr. Matthews has been at pains to note items bearing on Carver which came to light in the course of his own investigations along other lines; and he has responded to direct appeals for aid in the heartiest possible manner. Thanks for kindly assistance are also due to Dr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, and others.

[2] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143–183.

the points in dispute. In the process of attempting to prove that Carver could not have written the book bearing his name, other condemnatory statements have crept into the discussion until he now stands, in the estimation of many, stripped of his laurels—nothing short of an impostor.

The late Dr. Edward Gaylord Bourne was a man of unusual attainments—a versatile, able, and effective teacher and critic—and it is unfortunate that while his paper, "The Travels of Jonathan Carver",[3] may be a "summary of scholarly opinion," it nevertheless lacks the caution and thoroughness which should always characterize the work of the scholar. He seems, for the most part, to have been content to accept without independent research the unsupported and rather vague assertions of earlier writers; and as for the charge of plagiarism, Carver's delinquency in that respect had been known to students for many years. Bourne merely emphasized the charge by the use of the deadly parallel column. Moreover, it does not appear that in writing his paper he consulted contemporary newspapers or original documents in the archives of England and the United States. Bourne's name, however, carried great weight, and his conclusions were, naturally enough, quite generally accepted.

In recent years there has been a decided tendency, in the field of history as elsewhere, to search after frauds. There is something fascinating, for example, about the construction of a case from "internal evidence", which can usually be discovered when one has made up his mind what it is he wishes to prove. This is as dangerous as it is diverting; for a single definite fact, which may later come to light, will spoil all the argument. Carver has been to some extent the victim of this method—a method to be avoided by the careful historian. The truth is always welcome and must be told at any cost; but the writer of history should not sink into mere iconoclasm which seeks without good reason to unsettle long-established reputations.

A delicious and pertinent example of the incautious method of arriving at conclusions from internal evidence may be given. Dr. Blank, a distinguished historical scholar, was asked for his

[3] *American Historical Review*, xi, pp. 287–302.

opinion on the authenticity of the *Travels.* Evidently Dr. Blank had not formed a high opinion of Jonathan Carver. His reply was positive and unequivocal, delivered with all the confidence of one who is master of his subject. He condemned Carver and his book *in toto;* and, as a clincher, offered as evidence of the traveller's unworthiness the lengthy title-page which appears in some editions of the *Travels,* with the comment: "The title-page and introduction are so fantastic and untrue that no weight ought to be given to any of his [Carver's] statements."[4] If the learned Dr. Blank had mastered the bibliography of the subject he would not have fallen into the error of charging Carver with whatever is fantastic or untrue in the title-page in question; for he would have known that it first appeared when two enterprising Philadelphia booksellers, Joseph Crukshank and Robert Bell, published the *Travels* in 1784—four years after the death of poor Carver.[5] The title-pages for which Carver *was* responsible are modest enough to satisfy the most captious; as for the introduction, it may be a trifle grandiloquent, but there is no reason for calling it fantastic or wilfully untrue.

II

A supposed absence of evidence has been construed to mean that Jonathan Carver never held the rank of captain in the provincial troops, and that he was not present at the siege and capitulation of Fort William Henry in 1757;[6] yet the proof of Carver's statements in this connection is easily accessible in the Massachusetts Archives and elsewhere.

Dr. John Coakley Lettsom's account of Captain Carver's mil-

[4] For obvious reasons, the name of the writer of this letter is withheld. Suffice it to say that he is a gentleman who stands deservedly high in his profession.

[5] This is a striking illustration of the necessity of expert bibliographical knowledge in treating critically early books of exploration and travel.

[6] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 281, note; Bourne, p. 290; Thwaites, *Wisconsin* (Boston, 1908), p. 125.

itary services,[7] which in recent years has been called in question, now appears to be entirely reliable; in fact, it can be closely checked by documents presently to be cited. After repeating what had been told him as to Carver having, at the age of eighteen, purchased an ensigncy in a Connecticut regiment, Dr. Lettsom continues in these words:[8]

> Of this event, however, I have not found the least mention among his [Carver's] papers, nor, indeed, of any other important circumstance of his life till the year 1757, when he was in the army under General Webb, and fortunately escaped the dreadful massacre at Fort William Henry, where nearly 1500 brave troops were destroyed in cold blood by the Indians in the French army of General Montcalm.
>
> In the ensuing year, 1758, a battalion of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Oliver Partridge, was raised in the province of Massachusetts Bay, by order of Governor Pownall, for the purpose of invading Canada, in which our author served as second lieutenant of Captain Hawks's company; and in 1760 he was advanced to be captain of a company in Colonel Whetcomb's regiment of foot, during the administration of Governor Hutchinson. In Governor Barnard's time, in 1762, Captain Carver commanded a company of foot in Colonel Saltonstall's regiment.

Of the service in the Connecticut regiment, nothing has been found; but for the rest there is ample corroboration.

We know beyond cavil that Jonathan Carver the traveller lived at Montague, Massachusetts, years before he undertook his Western journey, and that he returned to his family there in 1768.[9] This matter of residence is important, because the papers in the Massachusetts Archives probably have to do with more than one Jonathan Carver. Hence, only when place of residence is given, or when there is other confirmatory evidence,

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[7] "Some Account of Captain J. Carver," in third London (1781) edition of the *Travels*.

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 2, 3. Also in Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield, Mass.* (Albany, 1875), p. 418, there is brief but accurate mention of Carver's military services. Why did Bourne ignore this, and at the same time take from the same source the statement that "Moses Field gave him [Carver] credit for making twenty pairs of shoes in 1754"?

[9] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 144, 149.

can the records be set forth with absolute certainty. The following unquestionably refer to the traveller:

1. Muster-roll, sworn to March 21, 1758. Sergeant in Captain John Burk's company. Residence Montague. March 19–October 19; year not given, but endorsed 1757. Roll made up for that part of Captain Burk's company included in the capitulation at Fort William Henry, August 9, 1757[10].

2. Billeting-roll, sworn to November 16, 1758. No rank given. Residence Montague. Of Colonel William Williams's regiment, in Major John Hawks's company. Enlisted April 14, 1758. Roll made up to June 3, 1758.[11]

3. Muster-roll, sworn to February 11, 1760. First-lieutenant in Captain Salah Barnard's company. Residence Montague. March 31–November 29; year not given, but endorsed 1759.[12]

4. Muster-roll, dated February 20, 1761. Rank captain. Residence Montague. March 24–December 12; year not given, but endorsed 1760.[13]

5. Pay-roll, sworn to March 25, 1762. Rank captain. Residence Montague. April 18–January 22; year not given, but endorsed 1761, 1762.[14]

6. Pay-roll, endorsed Boston, March 2, 1763. Rank captain. Residence Montague. March 4–January 15; year not given, but endorsed 1762, 1763.[15]

We may also safely add to the foregoing a muster-roll, dated August 13, 1761, in which Carver's name appears as a captain in Col. Richard Saltonstall's regiment, although place of residence is not given.[16] Lettsom, as we have seen, makes specific men-

[10] Massachusetts Archives, 96:42.

[11] *Ibid*, 96:332.

[12] *Ibid*, 98:329.

[13] *Ibid*, 98:261.

[14] *Ibid*, 99:143–145.

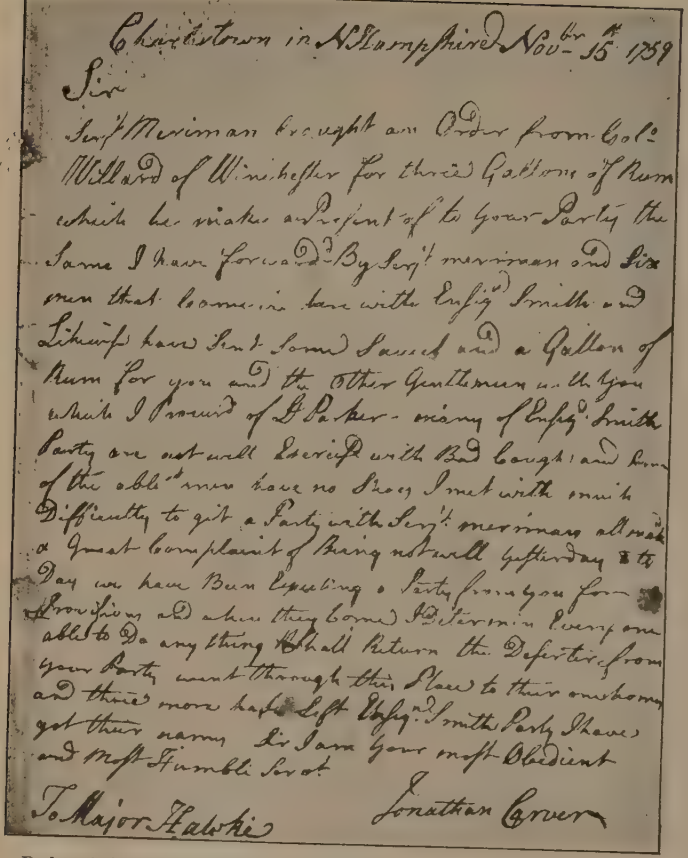
[15] *Ibid*, 99:245.

[16] *Ibid*, 99:1. In the Harvard College Library there is the manuscript of a roll of Capt. Jonathan Carver's company in Colonel Saltonstall's regiment, Crown Point, July 20, 1762. General Gage certified, August 11, 1768, that Carver had served as captain in the provincial troops. See *post*, p. 113.

tion of this service.[17]

Carver's military services thus appear to have been varied. No one can now question his right to the title of captain; and what is more important still—for on this largely rests the authenticity of his chapter on the massacre—he was present at Fort William Henry in 1757. Because Carver's name was not found among those included in the capitulation, his presence has been doubted—and this in spite of the fact that his graphic ac-

[17] There are also in the Massachusetts Archives the following papers bearing the name of Jonathan Carver, some of which, no doubt, refer to the traveller: (1) List, dated Dec. 24, 1754, of men receiving bounty from Thomas Cobb, 93:139. (2) Account rendered by Col. John Winslow against the Province for bounty paid by him and Maj. Frye to soldiers enlisted into his regiment in 1754, 93:139a. (3) Undated list of men belonging to Capt. Thomas Cobb's company, Col. John Winslow's regiment, returned as engaged for the defence of the Eastern frontier, and certified as mustered at Castle Island, June 21, 1754, 93:140. (4) Same as (3), in which Carver's name appears twice with the rank of first-lieutenant, 93:140. (5) Muster-roll, dated Nov. 8, 1754, of Capt. Thomas Cobb's company, Col. Winslow's regiment; April 23–October 2, year not given, but endorsed 1754, 93:141. (6) Muster-roll, dated Feb. 23, 1755/6; centinel in Capt. Elijah Williams's company, June 19–Sept. 18, 1755, 94:18. (7) Muster-roll, dated March 3, 1756; corporal in Capt. William Lyman's company, Sept. 15–Dec. 10; year not given, but endorsed 1755; company on Crown Point expedition, 95:170. (8) List of officers appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to command the 1800 men raised, as returned to the Council by Col. Joseph Frye; rank captain; year not given, but possibly 1757, 95:221. (9) List, dated April 6, 1757, of a company of militia in Taunton, commanded by Capt. Joseph Hall; rank captain; reported as belonging to the alarm list, 95:251. (10) List, dated April 19, 1757, of men in Capt. John Coolidge's company; reported on the alarm list, 95:323. (11) Billeting account, sworn to May 25, 1758, of Capt. Carver's company, Col. Joseph Frye's regiment, 95:398. (12) Same as (11), sworn to Jan. 4, 1759, 95:477. (13) Same as (12), also sworn to Jan. 4, 1759, 95:479. (14) Account, endorsed "Capt. Jno. Burk's Acct of Sundrys"; year not given, 96:44. (15) Billeting account, sworn to Jan. 31, 1759, of Capt. Carver's company, Col. Frye's regiment, 96:194. (16) Muster-roll, dated Feb. 20, 1761, of Capt. Jonathan Carver's company, 98:261. (17) Account rendered by Jonathan Carver



Charlestown in N Hampshire Novbr 15th 1759

Sir

Serjt Merriman brought an Order from Colo Willard of Winchester for three Gallons of Rum which he wrote and Present of to your Party the Same I have forwarded By Serjt merriman and Six men that Came in here with Ensign Smith and Likewise have Sent Some Sauce and a Gallon of Rum For you and the other Gentlemen with You which I procured of Lt Parker - many of Ensign Smiths Party are not well Escaped with Bad Cought and Some of the able men have no Stores I met with much Difficulty to git a Party with Serjt merrimans all made a Great Complaint of being not well Yesterday & to Day we have Been Expecting a Party from you Some Provision and when they Come I'll Serve in Every one allot to Do any thing I Shall Return the Deserter from your Party went through this Place to their own home and three more have Left Ensign Smiths Party I have got their names Sir I am Your most Obedient and Most Humble Servt

To Major Hawkis

Jonathan Carver

Reduced facsimile of letter written by Jonathan Carver to "Major John Hawke [Hawks], on the road between Crown Point and No. 4 [Charlestown, N. H.]" From the Massachusetts Papers in the Library of Congress.

count of the terrible massacre which followed the surrender is corroborated by other witnesses.[18] However, there can be no doubt that he played his part on that fateful day. The muster-roll of Capt. John Burk's company, conclusive evidence though it is, is supported by Carver's petition to the provincial government (December 31, 1763),[19] asking for pecuniary assistance, in which he affirms that he was present at Fort William Henry and was there wounded by the Indians. In a memorial to the Earl of Dartmouth (February 10, 1773) Carver also asserts that he was "wounded in his Leg at the bloody Massacree of the unhappy Garrison of Fort William Henry at Lake George".[20]

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against the Province of Massachusetts Bay, dated Feb. 21, 1761, in part for transporting baggage from No. 4 (Charlestown, N. H.) to Montague, 98:262. (18) Account against the Province, dated 1762, amounting to £ 5-2-0, 99:144.

In the Library of Congress (Massachusetts Papers) will be found the following: (1) Receipt for mess money, dated Boston, March 29, 1758, signed by Jonathan Carver as captain, and endorsed in an unknown hand: "Captains Carver and Burk were in Col. Frye's Massachusetts regiment in 1757, and both taken prisoners at Fort William Henry that year & narrowly escaped the Indian tomahawk at the massacre which followed. * * *" (2) List (1758) of Major John Hawks's company, Col. Partridge's regiment, in which Jonathan Carver is given as lieutenant and adjutant. (3) John Hawks's "List of men that marched with me from ye Lake," in which Jonathan Carver appears as lieutenant (1758). (4) Muster-roll, dated Nov. 17, 1759, of detachments of 2nd battalion, Ruggles's Massachusetts regiment, in which Jonathan Carver is given as lieutenant in Capt. John Burk's company. (5) Receipt, dated Nov. 19, 1759, given at No. 4 to Capt. Burk, and endorsed "Lt. Carver's rect. for Billiting money." (6) List of field officers in Col. Whitcomb's regiment, in which Jonathan Carver is given as the 5th captain in rank (1760). In addition to these six documents there are three others signed by the Jonathan Carver who was in Major Hawks's company—two are inventories, dated August 3, 1758, of property belonging to men in Col. Partridge's regiment; and the third is a letter, dated Charlestown, N. H., Nov. 15, 1759, and addressed to "Major John Hawke [Hawks], on the road between Crown Point and No. 4 [Charlestown, N. H.]"

[18] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1904), i, p. 529.

[19] Massachusetts Archives, 80:447–449; *post*, pp. 108, 109.

[20] *Post*, pp. 117, 118.

Furthermore, he states in the *Travels*[21] that he received a wound in the ankle from an Indian spear, and narrowly escaped one in his side.

We may now read Carver's vivid description of the massacre without skepticism. There is no reason to doubt that it is veracious and reliable, so far as it relates to occurrences of which he himself was an eye-witness.[22]

III

Suspicion has been cast upon Carver in the matter of the plot said to have been hatched by Maj. Robert Rogers while commandant at Mackinac;[23] but rather diligent investigation has failed to disclose a scintilla of evidence showing Carver's complicity in any treasonable undertaking.

Parkman says that Rogers "was tried by a court-martial for a meditated act of treason, the surrender of Fort Michillimackinac into the hands of the Spaniards, who were at that time masters of Upper Louisiana."[24] He was placed under arrest, tried at Montreal in 1768, and acquitted. If Rogers had treasonable designs it seems likely that his negotiations with the French or Spaniards were carried on during the time Carver was in the farther West. However, it is possible that the alleged intrigue was entered into after the traveller's return to

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[21] First edition (London, 1778), p. 318.

[22] In the *Massachusetts Magazine* (Boston) for October, 1789, pp. 634–636, is a curious account of a dream which Captain Carver had a few nights before his departure from America in 1769. He is said to have seen in his dream, while standing on the seashore at Boston, the royal standard of England in the heavens. At first it waved gently; but in an instant the banner became much agitated, as if by a whirlwind, and was rent into many pieces. Carver took this to be "a prognostication of the disunion which has since taken place." The writer of this account of Carver's dream, which originally appeared in the *European Magazine*, avers that the traveller "was always a strenuous advocate of lenient measures [toward the colonies], and a reconciliation on the best terms that could be obtained."

[23] Thwaites, *Wisconsin*, p. 125.

[24] *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1899), p. 163.

Mackinac in August, 1767.[25] The statement made in the report of July 10, 1769[26] on an early Carver memorial—possibly his first after reaching London—to the effect that Rogers was under confinement when Carver reached Mackinac on his return journey, is not correct. Major Rogers was not arrested until several months after Carver's reappearance. General Gage's order to Captain Spiesmacher reached Mackinac after the winter season had set in. Rogers was therefore kept at the post, part of the time in irons, until he could be sent for trial to Montreal, where he arrived in June, 1768.[27] It is equally certain that Major Rogers was superseded and placed under arrest before Carver started on his homeward journey, which, according to his own statement, was in June, 1768;[28] and we have positive proof that he was in Boston in August of that year.[29]

Benjamin Roberts, commissary for Indian affairs and trade at Mackinac, in a letter to Sir William Johnson dated October 31, 1767, gives some details of the disturbances created by Major Rogers, and mentions the names of Goddard, Tate [Tute], Carver, Engineer, and Atherton, as being interested in Rogers's plans.[30] Roberts, however, was not on good terms with the commandant, who had placed him under arrest, the result of a controversy over the seizure of a cargo of rum;[31] and it is therefore likely that he was suspicious of everybody who had friendly relations with his chief.

At all events, Carver was employed by Rogers for "the purpose of making discoveries and surveys of ye interior parts of North America, especially to ye West and North west of that Garrison [Michillimackinac]", to use the language of the report already referred to, and not, so far as we have knowledge, in the furtherance of any treasonable designs which Rogers may

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[25] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, p. 149.

[26] *Post*, pp. 110–112.

[27] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 279, note; *Journal of John Lees of Quebec, Merchant* (Detroit, 1911), pp. 25, 26.

[28] *Travels* (London, 1778), p. 149.

[29] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, p. 143.

[30] Hough, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (Albany, 1883), pp. 238–241.

[31] *Ibid*, p. 237.

have entertained at that time. For his services he was to receive eight shillings a day "together with other incidental Charges."[32] The amount of Carver's claim was duly itemized and presented to the government; but it appears that Rogers, as was usual with him, had acted without authority.[33] Yet not a shadow of suspicion was cast upon Carver in the report on his claim; and General Gage, who certainly must have been well informed of the movements of Rogers and his associates at Mackinac, under date of August 11, 1768, certified that Carver had served with reputation as a captain in the provincial troops; that he had ever borne the "character of a very good man"; and that his statements setting forth the hardships and difficulties of his Western travels were true, but that Major Rogers was not empowered to employ him.[34] It is fair to assume that General Gage would not have given a certificate of character to one suspected of treasonable designs. Moreover, it is significant that the Earl of Hillsborough, who signed the report favorable to Carver, was no friend of Major Rogers; for under date of March 12, 1768, he writes to Sir William Johnson of the "wicked and infamous behaviour of Rogers";[35] and in view of the fact that Carver avowed his employment under Rogers and produced an attested copy of a warrant from that officer, it is not unlikely that Hillsborough closely scrutinized the evidence adduced by the traveller. If doubt of his loyalty had been entertained, it is reasonable to suppose that, instead of being granted an indemnity, his claim would have received scant consideration. The truth probably is, that he entered into the arrangement in good faith, believing that Rogers was acting with full authority and in the best interests of his country.

For some reason unknown, Carver does not mention in his *Travels* the disturbances at Mackinac and the arrest of Rogers. He may have believed the charge of treason to be unfounded, or he may have been actuated by selfish motives which we cannot at this time fathom.

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[32] *Post*, p. 111.

[33] Hough, *Journals*, p. 13.

[34] *Post*, p. 113.

[35] Hough, *Journals*, p. 249.

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

IV

With little apparent reason save that of a lively suspicion, doubt has been expressed as to the gratuity which Carver received from the government. One writer observes that it is extremely improbable that the traveller's services were recognized to the extent of a gratuity of thirteen hundred pounds, else why did he die "absolutely and strictly starved in January, 1780"?[36]

The Reverend Samuel Peters—happily characterized by Professor Bourne as "the spicy and spiteful historian of Connecticut"—stated under oath that Carver received £ 1373 6s 8d from the British government;[37] and, violent Tory though he was, Peters may now and then have spoken the truth.

Carver himself admits that he received an indemnity,[38] and complains that he was not permitted to add to his original claim the sum he avers to have paid a bookseller to recover his charts and journals, when they were called for by the Lords of Trade.[39] Moreover, in his memorial to the Earl of Dartmouth (February 10, 1773), he says:

"Your Memorialist on his Return made Application to be reim-

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[36] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 281, note.

[37] Durrie, "Captain Jonathan Carver and 'Carver Grant'", in *Ibid*, vi, p. 251.

[38] *Travels* (London, 1778), pp. xiii, xiv.

[39] In his memorial to the Earl of Gower (June 7, 1770), made after he had complied with the demand of the Lords of Trade, Carver makes no mention of having been compelled to purchase his papers from a bookseller; and in the claim accompanying the memorial, no such item is included. See *post*, pp. 116, 117.

The Boston *News-Letter* of June 7, 1770, contains the following, dated London, April 12:

We hear that Capt. Carver, famous for his late travels in the interior parts of North-America, has received orders from the government to deliver up all his plans, journals, and discoveries, to the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations, which he has complied with. By this prudent measure, it seems, that the Spaniards, who are making themselves formidable at the mouth of the Missisipi, will be prevented from obtaining that knowledge of the heads of that vast river, and the continent thereabouts, which otherwise they would have done, had those journals been made public.

bursed his Expences and Labour, and his Majesty was most Graciously pleased to order him a Sum of Money on his giving up his Journals Draughts and plans, which he chearfully did, tho the sum Received was but a little more than Equivolent to the Expences he was at,[40] which Draughts and Plans wou'd then by a publication produce Your Memoralist a Considerable Relief."[41]

Peter's sworn statement as to the amount of the gratuity is not wholly without support. There is in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa the undated draft of a petition to Congress by Rufus Carver,[42] "of Brandon in the County of Rutland and State of Vermont", in which he asks that the grant of land made by the Indians to his father, Captain Jonathan Carver, on May 1, 1767, be ratified for the benefit of the heirs;[43] and in the course of the petition it is stated that the "government gave above £1300 sterling to said Jonathan". Apparently the petitioner thought his case would best be served by the omission of this statement, for the passage is stricken out. Of course it is possible that the "spicy and spiteful historian of Connecticut" was the source of Rufus Carver's information. That point, however, cannot now be determined.

It is not improbable that Carver received money from the British government at more than one time. An almost chronic state of impecuniosity made him a persistent memorialist—as a perusal of the documents which accompany this paper will show—and under such conditions he may perhaps be pardoned if, in his appeals for aid, he now and then overstates his services to his king and country, considerable though they were.

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[40] Carver here evidently means that he received a sum of money little in excess of the cost of his Western travels and not the amount claimed to have been paid to the bookseller in order that he might recover his charts and journals. He makes this clearer in *Travels* (London, 1778), p. xiv.

[41] *Post*, p. 118.

[42] Rufus Carver was born in Montague, Mass., December, 1755, and was a soldier in the Revolution. After the war he lived in Montague and Deerfield. About 1797 he removed to Brandon, Vt., and thence, after 1832, to Sodus, N. Y., where in 1837 he was still living with a son and son-in-law. See Temple and Sheldon, *Northfield*, p. 418.

[43] Nothing new concerning the so-called "Carver Grant" has been discovered; therefore the subject is not discussed in this paper.

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

V

We have evidence that Carver was a surveyor and draughtsman;[44] and it is also quite clear that he had some ability as a map-maker. At any rate, he was, during his residence in England, concerned in the making of at least three maps (besides those later included in the *Travels*) and a plan of Boston.

There are in the British Museum[45] four copies of the earliest map extant bearing Carver's name—two in manuscript and two engraved. The sequence of these maps appears to be as follows:

1. Manuscript map made to accompany Carver's autograph journal (also in the collection).[46] This map, certainly in the traveller's own hand, is no doubt the original made by him from which all the others were taken.[47]

2. A copy of the above on a much reduced scale, made to accompany the fair copy of his journal; but not by Carver. It agrees in size with, and was no doubt prepared for engraving, the map which follows.

3. Two copies (one colored) of a map engraved from the above, though with slight alterations. It is thus dedicated: "To the Rt. Honble the Earl of Hillsborough and the rest of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. This Plan is most Humbly Dedicated by their most Obedient Humble Sert. 1769. Jonathan Carver."[48] This map was probably engraved by Thomas Kitchin, for in the statement of expenses annexed to Carver's memorial (June 7, 1770) to the Earl of Gower, president of the Privy Council, there is an item of "Cash paid Kitchen Engraver for Copper plate delivered to the Board of Trade £ 12–12s."[49]

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[44] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143, 152; also Carver's memorials, *post*, pp. 114, 117, 119.

[45] Additional Manuscripts, 8949, 8950.

[46] *Post*, pp. 120, 121.

[47] This on the high authority of the keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum.

[48] So far as known, this map did not appear in any publication, and, with the exception of the two here named, no copies of it have been found.

[49] *Post*, p. 116.

One of the maps published in the first, second, and third London editions of the *Travels*[50] appears to have been taken from that of 1769. The scale is very slightly reduced, and the latitude and longitude corrected somewhat, but the maps are substantially the same. The 1778 map, however, omits and alters names and descriptions; and in place of the dedication above-mentioned, it is entitled: "A Plan of Captain Carvers Travels in the interior Parts of North America in 1766 and 1767".

There appeared in the second issue of Thomas Jefferys's *American Atlas*[51] a finely-executed map entitled "A New Map of the Province of Quebec, according to the Royal Proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, from the French Surveys connected with those made after the War, by Captain Carver, and other Officers in His Majesty's Service". It is suggestive that the name of Carver is given prominence, while the "other officers" who assisted are not mentioned by name. An attempt has been made to trace the source of this map, if indeed it had a source other than that indicated by the title; but so far as known it had no engraved prototype.[52]

In the first edition of the *American Atlas*[53] the eighth plate is "A Map of the British Empire in North America; by Samuel Dunn, Mathematician." In succeeding issues[54] this map reap-

[50] 1778, 1779, and 1781.

[51] London, 1776. The map was continued, without change, in the issues of 1778 and 1782. It was also used as plate 3 in some copies of William Faden, *North American Atlas* (London, 1777), and in a French version in Le Rouge, *Atlas Ameriquain Septentrional* (Paris, 1778). See Phillips, *List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1909), i, pp. 655–658. There is a good reproduction of the map in the Canadian Archives *Report*, 1905, iii, p. 119.

[52] Dionne, *Inventaire Chronologique des Cartes, Plans, Atlas, relatifs à la Nouvelle-France et à la Province de Québec, 1508–1908* (Quebec, 1909), does not contain the title of any printed map that could have served as the source of Carver's map.

[53] London, 1775.

[54] London, 1776, 1778, and 1782. With numerous changes, particularly from Lake Ontario, up the St. Lawrence, and in New England, this map also appeared with the following title: "A New Map of the United States of North America with the British Dominions of that Continent &c. By Samuel Dunn, Mathematician; improved from the surveys of Capt. Carver" (London, 1786).

pears with the addition to the title of the words, "improved from the surveys of Capt. Carver." At first it was thought that possibly Carver had merely lent his name, but careful comparison of the first with later issues of the *American Atlas* has shown that his contribution was material. The shore line of the Great Lakes is considerably altered, and the region between the Mississippi and the lakes is changed in the water courses and names set down.

One I. De Costa[55] published in London, July 29, 1775, "A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston".[56] This map was probably wholly or in part the work of Captain Carver; for under date of August 8, 1775, Isaac Foster writes to Maj. Robert Rogers informing him that "Carver and Dacosta have finished a new plan of Boston at the request of Whitworth".[57] Whitworth was

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[55] Nothing has been learned concerning De Costa, although diligent inquiry has been made.

[56] In May, 1911, Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, London, published a facsimile of this plan from the rare original now preserved in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, R. I. Mr. George Parker Winship very kindly loaned a copy of the facsimile for examination, and a description of it follows. This particular copy is not colored. Stevens, however, issued an edition of fifty, colored by hand after the manner of the original.

A Plan of the | Town and Harbour of | Boston. | and the Country adjacent with the Road | from Boston to Concord | Shewing the Place of the late Engagement, | between the King's Troops & the Provincials, | together with the several Encampments of | both Armies in & about Boston. | Taken from an Actual Survey | Humbly Inscribed to Rich^d. Whitworth | Esqr. Member of Parliament for Stafford. | By his most Obedient Servant | I: De Costa. [The title is followed by nineteen numbered references to position of troops, batteries, men of war, etc.] [At bottom of plan] London Publish'd as the Act directs July 29th 1775. by I. De Costa Red Cross Street Southwark. Size, 19 x 14½ inches.

A copy of the facsimile owned by the Bostonian Society, as presumably were all those offered for sale by Stevens, also has the following at bottom: "Reproduced from the original Print preserved in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I. London: Republished May 1911 by Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, Map & Print Sellers, 39, Great Russell Street, W. C. over against the South West Corner of the British Museum."

[57] Calendar of the Dartmouth Papers, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report, Appendix*, Part X (London, 1895), p. 350.

the gentleman who became interested in Carver's original project of crossing the continent to the Pacific, and who proposed heading an expedition for that purpose.[58] There can therefore be no doubt that the Carver here referred to was the traveller. Foster says in the same letter that Carver expected to be appointed a superintendent of Indian affairs; and it is known that he made application for this appointment in his memorial (February 25, 1773) to the Earl of Dartmouth, "his majesty's principal Secretary of State for the American department".[59]

In view of what we now know respecting these maps, it would seem reasonably certain that Carver had attained a certain proficiency in map-making. The most exacting critic will admit that if he had no ability as a cartographer, his name must then have been used by the chartsellers to give *éclat* to some of their undertakings. Either point of view brings us inevitably to the conclusion that he was a man of unusual intelligence, well known in geographical circles years before his book made him still better known.

VI

In addition to the maps already noted, there are in the British Museum important Carver papers consisting of journals, a "dictionary of the Naudouesse language" (fuller than that printed in the *Travels*[60]), drawings, etc.[61] These manuscripts were bequeathed to the Museum by Carver's patron, Sir Joseph Banks, to whom the traveller dedicated his book. The journals and the Indian vocabulary are in the handwriting of the author, and have numerous alterations and additions. They do not appear to have been written from day to day, but rather to be copies

[58] *Travels* (London, 1778), pp. 541, 542.

[59] *Post*, pp. 119, 120.

[60] London, 1778 pp. 433–440. General A. W. Greely in a personal letter says that the late James G. Pilling, a close student of such matters, told him that Carver's Santee or Naudowessie vocabulary was the first to appear in print, and that without doubt it was an original compilation.

[61] Additional Manuscripts, 8949, 8950. For complete list of these papers see *post*, pp. 120, 121.

of original notes, with additions from memory. Possibly these are the journals which Carver wrote up at Mackinac in the fall of 1767, or during the year following.[62]

Evidently Carver's manuscript was not considered suitable for publication in its original form, for a reviser seems to have been employed to prepare it for the press. Among the papers bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks there is a note "to the Reviser", in which Carver asks that nameless gentleman, in case he finds any accounts which are unconnected, to be so good as to let him "know by Mr. Pain and every information shall be given that the Author is capable of".

But this does not mean that Carver's style was either bad or illiterate. Few men in the eighteenth century, not professional writers, could have produced a manuscript ready to be placed in the hand of the compositor. Even in these days of habitual authorship, when it is no mark of distinction to have written a book, the editorial blue-pencil must freely be used on the author's "copy".

The British Museum's keeper of manuscripts, certainly an excellent authority, says that Carver "must have been a man of very respectable education; his style and writing are as good (say) as Captain Cook's".[63]

At this point it will not be out of place to give an example of the work of the reviser or literary hack. One of the best and most reliable books of early Western travel is *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the Years 1760 and 1776*,[64] from the pen of Alexander Henry the elder. It has been praised by Parkman, who freely drew upon it in writing his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, also by many other historians, as a manly, well-written narrative of great importance. The late Dr. James Bain, in editing a reprint of Henry's book some years ago, wrote enthusiastically of the author's "clear, simple, Defoe-like style", adding that "we look in vain for a rival in these respects".[65]

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[62] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 148, 150.

[63] Letter to the writer, April 1, 1910.

[64] New York, 1809. For Henry in fiction, see Mary Hartwell Catherwood's charming story, *The White Islander*.

[65] Toronto and Boston, 1901, p. xxviii.

If those unfamiliar with Henry's *Travels* will read any chapter of that book, and then turn to the letters written by its author to John Askin, printed from literal transcripts,[66] in volume xix of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, but one conclusion can be reached. It needs but a modicum of critical faculty to discern that Henry never penned the work bearing his name, in the form in which it was printed. The manuscript must have been carefully revised by a competent hand—of this there can be no doubt. Are we, then, to brand the upright Henry as an impostor? That would be idle and unfair; for in all essential particulars he was undoubtedly the author of the book. The truth is that few, if any, of the early volumes of travel have come to us as written down by their authors. The early travellers and traders who have left records of their experiences in the wilderness were, as a rule, men who had small opportunity of cultivating authorship. The wonder is that they wrote as well as they did, considering the meagre schooling most of them received; and the life they led was not conducive to the acquirement of the art of correct composition.

VII

The one clear case which we have against Jonathan Carver is that he plagiarized portions of his book from the works of Hennepin, Lahontan, Charlevoix, and Adair;[67] but to call him

[66] Originals in the library of Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit.

[67] It is not generally known that the publication of James Adair's *History of the American Indians*, like Carver's *Travels*, was for a long time delayed. The latter work was advertised in the Boston *Chronicle*, September 12, 19, and 26, 1768 (see Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143, 144), although it was not published until 1778. Adair's book was advertised in America as early as 1769, but did not see the light for six years, when it appeared in London (1775). In the *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah) of October 11, 1769, there is a rather long item about Adair, dated New York, February 27—possibly copied from a New York paper of that date—in which it is stated that "he intends going to Europe in the ensuing summer, where he proposes to print the Essays"—meaning his work on the American Indians. In the same newspaper, issue of November 1, 1769, there appeared "Proposals for

wholly unworthy and unreliable on that account, is to ignore the state of literary manners and morals in England during the eighteenth century. It may reasonably be doubted whether it would have been considered a very reprehensible disregard of literary ethics had Carver's plagiarisms become known in his own day. Such things were rather common then; and in attempting to appraise our traveller we must not judge him altogether by twentieth century standards. La Potherie, a keen observer and at times a lively writer, is believed to have drawn freely and without credit from the lost writings of Nicolas Perrot in writing his valuable *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale;*[68] yet La Potherie has not been discredited on that account. To borrow without credit is now a serious offense—one rightly to shake our confidence in any writer—but long after Carver's day authors of repute appropriated the work of others without seriously injuring their own reputations. To name but one, the delightful Washington Irving, whose charm of style far exceeds his reliability as a historian, was himself very clever at "adapting" materials.[69]

Captain Carver has for many years held an honored place in our Western annals. The first traveller in this region during the British régime, he was first also to give an intelligent account of it to the English-speaking world. He died a pauper in purse, but there seems to be no valid reason for an attempt to

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printing by Subscription, Essays on the Origin, History, Language, Religion * * * of the Indians * * * by James Adair. Conditions. The Work will be comprised in two Octavo Volumes, and be put to Press in London as soon as a sufficient Number of Subscriptions are obtained; * * * " It is not unlikely that the book was also advertised in other newspapers of the day. Did Carver and Adair meet in London, and talk over their experiences in the wilderness and the difficulties encountered in getting a book published by subscription?

[68] In E. H. Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* (Cleveland, 1911), will be found an admirable English translation of a large part of the fourth edition (Paris, 1753) of La Potherie's *Histoire.*

[69] Irving followed this course in his *Captain Bonneville,* the subject matter of Bonneville's personal experiences being buried in compilations made from other sources.

make him also a pauper in reputation. That he had grave faults no honest investigator will deny;[70] but withal he was a man of tough fibre, highly intelligent, brave, enterprising, resourceful—and there can be no doubt of his ability to write the book which bears his name.

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[70] Apparently Carver was on good terms with his wife at the time of his departure for England in February, 1769. His affectionate letter to her from Mackinac, dated September 24, 1767, does not indicate strained relations (see Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 149–151). However, he appears to have left his family poorly provided for during his Western travels. Mrs. Carver, in sore straits, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts early in 1768, setting forth her husband's public services and sufferings, her own unhappy condition, and praying for relief. Unfortunately for her the petition was dismissed on the grounds that the sum of sixty pounds had been granted to Captain Carver in 1764, in full for his services, etc. (see Massachusetts *House Journals*, February 19, 1768, p. 179, and February 23, p. 188; the original of Mrs. Carver's petition is missing). Carver returned to his family at Montague in 1768; but it does not appear that, upon going to England early the year following, he left his wife and children provided for. Edward P. Pressey, in his *History of Montague*, p. 217, says that in 1770 summer schools were kept at Mrs. Abigail Carver's. It is not known that Carver had anything to do with his family after leaving America, although it is quite possible that for a time he was in touch with them. Finally, however, he married again in England, while the wife of his youth was still living; and when he died in 1780, he left at least one child, a daughter, by this bigamous marriage.

Abigail Carver, the traveller's first wife, survived her husband twenty-two years, dying at Brandon, Vt., Nov. 9, 1802, while living in the family of Joshua Goss, who in 1774 had married her daughter Abigail. Her grave is in the old Congregational burying-ground at Brandon, and the inscription on her tombstone reads:

"Abigail Carver, died Nov. 9th, 1802, in the 73d year of her age.

"A virtuous wife, a mother dear,
To friends & neighbors very near,
She left them all in peace & love,
We trust she's gone to dwell above."

The Belknap Papers in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society (161, c. 29 and 161, k. 6) contain two letters written by John Fisher to the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, dated Portsmouth, N. H., April 19 and 26, 1798. Fisher wrote to Belknap on behalf of his father (also

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

Documents

PETITIONS FOR EXPENSES

To His Excellency William Shirley Esq Major General of all His Majesties forces in North America &c. &c. &c. May 21 [in pencil][71]

The Honourable His Majesties Council & House of Representatives in General Court Assembled.

The Petition of Jonathan Carver of Montague in the County of Hampshire Humbly Sheweth—Whereas your Petitioner did the Last Year Enlist into his Majesties Service in the Expedition against Crown point, and before his return from the Camps at Lake George grew infirm, and an ill State of health increasing till the beginning of January, when your petitioner was Sick & dangerously Ill with the Camp feaver Eight weeks & your petitioner was left by it with a disorder in his limbs So that he is Scarcely able to travail a few miles on foot. and as your petitioner apprehends his Sickness, loss of time & charge was Contracted by his Service for his Country, your petitioner Humbly prays that he may be allowed Such a Consideration as your

named John) then in England, asking for information concerning Carver's family in America. It seems that in 1798 Carver's English wife was lately dead, leaving a daughter by the traveller. The elder John Fisher, when secretary to Lord George Germain, had, upon the death of Carver, contributed largely to the support of the widow, "till at length he was so fortunate as to obtain for her a pension that enabled her to pass the rest of Life in some degree of comfort." No doubt the information was desired for the benefit of the daughter referred to; and it is possible that the elder Fisher had hopes of turning the so-called "Carver Grant" to her good. In that event, it was of course desirable to know whether there were other possible claimants in America. Throughout these two letters Carver, who is styled "that extraordinary man," is spoken of in friendly terms. "The subject [of this letter] is the late Captain Jonathan Carver, so well known by his publication of Travels into the western Interior of this country," says the younger Fisher; and farther on he remarks that "it is not to be presumed that a man of good moral character like himself would without that event [i. e. the death of Carver's first wife] have married which he certainly did in England."

[71] Massachusetts Archives, 75: 561, 562.

honours in your great wisdom Shall think Just & reasonable, and your petitioner Shall as in Duty Bound ever pray &c.

JONATHAN CARVER

May 1756 Montague £ 2–9–8 allowed by y^e Com^tee Samuel Witt p order

Endorsed: Jonathan Carver's Petition Montague May 1756

Jonathan Carver' Account of Expences In Sickness in 1755 Dec.^r and In 1756 January February

Six Quarts of Rum	0	8	8
A quart of Brandy	0	0	11
Six Pound of Sugar	0	4	5
five Pound of Butter	0	2	4
For nursing Eight weeks	2	2	8
and Boarding my nurs Eight weeks	1	12	0
For Candls 8 Dozen	0	1	4
	4	12	4

JONATHAN CARVER

HAMPSHIRE ss May 21th 1756

Jonathan Carver above named appeard and made oath to the Truth of the above account

COR^M ELIJAH WILLIAMS Jus^o Pac^s

[This is followed by the statement of two soldiers who had served in Carver's company, Simeon King and John Hooker, setting forth the truth of the petition.]

Endorsed: Jonathan Carver p. Comtee £ 2–9–8 Barnard May 21-1756

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

To his Excell^y Francis Bernard Esq Cap^t Gen^l Gov^r and Commander in chief—the Hon^o his majestys Council and House of Rep^ves for s^d Province in General Court Assembled Dec^r 31^st 1763.[12]

Humbly Shews Jonathan Carver late a Captain in the service of this Province—That he was in the Service of said Prov-

[12] *Ibid*, 80: 447–449. Carver again petitioned the government in 1765, praying for the appointment as lieutenant in one of the forts to the

ince in the Year 1755 & was taken with a fit of sickness in the Army but with great difficulty at length got home, where he had a lingering sickness of a slow fever & Camp distemper, which setled in one of his legs & had lik'd to have prov'd fatal, notwithstanding the Efforts of the ablest Surgeons, but after many months was able to go abroad, and in the Year 1756 petitioned the Gen[l] Court for an allowance who paid one of his Doctor's bills & allow'd him £ 2. 10. 0 for his Expences & loss of time—how small the sum? how inadequate to his loss of time & Even expences?

In the Year 1757 he again enterd the Service and was one of the unhappy Sufferers at Fort William Henry, after the surrender of which in the horrid massacre he was wounded by the Indians in the same Leg in which the fever had before setled, and was obliged to travel in the wilderness two days—(tho but slow) thro' cold rivers, having nothing to apply to his wounded Leg, by which means he had a second time like to have lost it and after some application it grew a little better—but since that has been increasing & has more than once been in danger of losing his Leg by suffering an amputation.—which has been attended with great pain & more Expence than his circumstances can bear, having almost reduced him to poverty & want—nor will his Expences cease here, for his Leg is like to be a charge to him during Life, as there is no present prospect of its being heal'd.

Wherefore your Men[t] humbly supplicates your Excell[y] & Honors that you would take his most piteous case into your wise consideration and releive him according to his distresses. And as in Duty bound shall ever pray

JON[A] CARVER

Endorsed: There are twelve endorsements, the last two being as follows: In the House of Repves Jany 30 1764 Read and Ordered that the Sum of Sixty pounds be allowed the Petr out of the publick Treasury in full consideration for his sufferings mentioned. Sent up for concurrence Timo Ruggles Spkr In Council Jany 30th 1764 Read & Concurred Jno Cotton D Secry Consented to Fra. Bernard

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Eastward (see Massachusetts *House Journals*, June 12, 1765, p. 65). The original petition seems to have been lost.

CONSIDERATION OF A CARVER PETITION

To the Right Hon^ble the Lords of the Committee of His Majesty's most Honble Privy Council for Plantation Affairs.[73]

My Lords—Pursuant to your Lordships order of the 21st of last month we have taken into our consideration the petition of Jonathan Carver, late Commander of a Company of provincial troops of Massachusetts Bay in New England, setting forth (amongst other things) his many services in the interior and unfrequented parts of North America; and the expence he has been put to in making discoveries, keeping journals and taking charts, none of which he has hitherto published or discover'd to any person; and humbly praying His Majesty to take his case into consideration and afford him some recompense for such his Services & expences; whereupon we beg leave to Report to your Lordships,

That in order to make enquiry into the Several Facts stated in the above Petition, agreeable to the directions contained in Your Lordships said order, We have been attended in person by the ~~Memorialist~~ Petitioner Captain Jonathan Carver, who has exhibited to us the attested Copy of a Warrant from Major Robert Rogers, Governor Commandant of His Majesty's Garrison of Michillimackinac, dated the 12th of August, 1766, ~~constituting~~ appointing the Petitioner an ~~appointment~~ with allowance of 8 s per day for the purpose of making discoveries and surveys of ye interior parts of North America, expecially to y^e West and North west of that Garrison, and marking out the route he was to follow in his Expedition for that purpose; In consequence of this Commission it appears that the ~~Memorialist~~ Pet.^r undertook and performed a journey of great extent ~~and~~ thro' y^e interior and infrequented parts of the Continent of North America, travelling to the Westward of Michillimackinac as far as the Heads of the Great River Mississippi, directing his Course from thence westward almost to the South Sea, and ~~exploring~~ in his turn exploring the whole Circuit of the Great Lake Superior. In this Service under the commission above stated the ~~Memorialist~~ Pet^r. sets forth that he was engaged ~~from~~

[73] Board of Trade, Commercial Papers, vol. 459.

~~the 1st day of May 1766 to the last of Dec.~~r for a considerable Course of time, with great hazard and fatigue, incurring thereby an Expence which on account of his pay at ye above rate of 8s per day together with other incidental Charges, amounts in ye whole, as appears by ye abstract of his account (copy whereof we beg leave hereunto to annex) to the Sum of £735: 11s 3d Of this charge no part appears to have been defrayed, Major Rogers at the ~~Memorialist's~~ Petrs return to Michillimackinac being then under confinement, and Genl Gage as appears by certificate under his Hand [Endorsed on side: Copy of which we beg leave hereunto to annex] ~~do acknowledging the merits of yr Petitioner and verifying his alligations but~~ declining to make him any compensation or allowance ~~assigning for his reason that~~ for as much as Major Rogers was not empower'd to employ him.

As to what Utility may arise to the Public from ye charts, plans and discoveries made by ye said Petitioner, (which is ye second Head of your Lordships reference) we must observe to your Lordships that from such general answers as we have obtained from Capt Carver to our enquiries on that subject, as from such observations as we coud form from his Route as laid down on ye Chart exhibited by him, we are inclined to think that no discoveries of general and national importance appear to have been ~~struck out~~ made in the course of his Travells; ~~no new channels of navigation to have been open'd~~, nor do his journals as we conceive furnish any other Lights than what relate to ~~an accurate~~ the Courses of rivers, the fertility of the Country, the mines of different sorts ~~in~~ with which in some places it is found to abound, and such other general ~~matters of curious observation as may be expected to re~~ Articles of Curiosity as might be supposed to offer themselves to the Observation in traversing a new and unexplored Country, ~~inhabited by various Tribes of Savages with whom we have hiterto had no commerce or acquaintance~~.

Upon the Whole of this Case it does clearly appear to us that the Petitioner having ~~inadvertently~~ engaged in this Expedition under a Commission from Major Rogers, which that officer was by no means authorized to grant, He cannot now by virtue of such an appointment make any regular Claim or demand for in-

deminification for his labour and expences.[74] Nevertheless as the Hardships and difficulties which this ~~Memorialist~~ Petr asserts to have undergone, have the Testimony of Gen. Gage for their truth, and as ~~the general character of conduct of C~~ Captain Carver does appear as well from ye above Certificate of Gen. Gage as likewise by a Letter from Brig. Ruggles to Govr Bernard (Copy whereof we beg leave hereunto to annex) to have acquitted himself in His Majs Service with reputation & fidelity, we think it a case ~~altogether~~ of compassion, and as such submit it to your Lordships to act thereupon, either for his Relief, or otherwise, as in your Lordship's Wisdom shall seem meet.

We are My Lord Your Lordships most obedient and most humble servts

HILLSBOROUGH
ED. ELIOT
THOMAS ROBINSON
WM. FITZHERBERT
LISBURNE

WHITEHALL July 10, 1769.

Endorsed: *Plant.s General.* Report to the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs on the petition of Cap.n Jonathan Carver. Ent.d N. for: 35 O July 10, 1769

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[74] In the first draft, from this point to the close of the document, the phraseology was as follows:

Nevertheless as the Facts set forth in his memorial are of an extraordinary nature and seem to carry every mark and testimony of being true; as his Dis-coveries, (tho' probably not of that public Utility which his Memorial sets forth) may notwithstanding be not absolutely without use, as tending to cast some Lights upon those vast and unfrequented tracts, over which the British Empire is extended in America; more especially as ye Character and Conduct of the Memorialist have such full and respectable testimony from the Certificate of General Gage and others who have been witnesses of his services, we think it is a case altogether for your Lordships compassionate Consideration, and as such submit it to your Lordships to act thereupon, either for his relief, or otherwise, as in your Lordships wisdom shall seem meet.

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

CERTIFICATE OF CHARACTER

By his Excellency the Honble Thomas Gage, General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America[75] *&c &c &c*

These are to certify, that Mr Jonathan Carver, served as Captain in the Provincials during the late War, with Reputation, and has ever bore the Character of a very good Man. That the hardships and difficulties set forth in the above Memorial are Facts; but as Major Rogers was not impowered to employ him, it is not in my Power to make him any Allowance for the great Trouble and Expence he alledges to have been at.

GIVEN AT HEAD QUARTERS AT NEW YORK this 11th day of August 1768

[Signed] THOS. GAGE

By his Excellency's Command. G: MATURIN.

HARDWICK [Mass.] Sept.r 1st 1768[76]

SIR—The unfortunate Capt Carver is to be the bearer of this; his Misfortunes seem to be much aggravated by the wicked Conduct of Major Rogers, on whose promises he had too much dependence; as he has been upon the publick Service near Rogers, it may not be amiss to acquaint you with the Integrity of his Conduct, as it is attested by so good a Gentleman as Major Small; & therefore to that end I inclose his Letter.

As I have heretofore given you Capt Carver's Character, as an Officer, at large, it would be trespassing upon your patience to repeat it; but lest in your multiplicity of Business it should have escaped your Memory, must beg leave to say, he always behaved with Bravery, Fidelity, Humanity & Decorum, and ever approved himself to his superior Officers. permit me therefore to beg your compassionate comsideration of his Services, and to grant him your assistance in obtaining a recompence therefor.

I am Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

TIMOTHY RUGGLES.[77]

*His Excell*y *Gov*r *Bernard.*

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[76] Copy in Privy Council, Unbound Papers.

[77] *Ibid.*

[77] Timothy Ruggles was a forceful, able, and rather picturesque char-

CARVER'S MEMORIAL

To the Right Honble the Earl of Gower Lord President of his Majestys most Honourable Privy Council.[78]

The Humble Memorial of Jonathan Carver Sheweth.—That your Memorialist haveing explored some of the interior and unknown parts of America made application by petition to his Majesty for a Reward for his Services and Discoveries. Whereupon his Majesty was pleased by his order in Council of the 3rd of May 1769 to refer said petition to the Lords Committee of Council for plantation affairs.

That the Lords of Council did on the 21st of June last refer the Same to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations who made their Report thereon to the Lords of Council whereupon the Lords of Council on the 20th of November last made a Report to his Majesty in Council in the Words following Viz. "The Lords of the Committee upon mature Consideration of the whole matter do agree humbly to Recommend the petitioner to your Majestys Royal Bounty upon Condition that he do deliver up to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations all Maps Charts plans Discoveries and observations made by him during the Course of his said Expedition".

Whereupon on the 29th of November last "His Majesty taking the said Report into Consideration was pleased with the Advice of his Privy Council to approve thereof and was thereby pleased to declare his Gracious Intention to bestow his Royal Bounty upon the petitioner provided he did deliver up to the

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acter. Born at Rochester, Mass., in 1711, he graduated from Harvard in 1732, and began public life (1736) as the representative of his native town. He not only became one of the leading lawyers of Massachusetts, but also showed an aptitude for military affairs, attaining the rank of brigadier general during the French and Indian war. As the revolutionary quarrel progressed, he became an ardent supporter of the measures proposed by the ministry; and as leaders of the two opposing parties, he and Otis frequently came into collision. Ruggles finally removed to Nova Scotia, where he is said to have died in 1798, at the ripe age of 87. See Sabine, *The American Loyalists* (Boston, 1847), pp. 583–586.

[78] Privy Council, Unbound Papers.

Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations all Maps Charts plans Discoveries and observations made by him during the Course of his said expedition and the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majestys Treasury were to give such Directions therein as to them should seem proper."

That your Memorialist did deliver to the Lords of Trade & plantations all his Maps Charts plans Discoveries and observations made by him during the Course of his expedition.

That your Memorialist previous to the order of Council for delivering up his plans and observations had exhibited on account of Expences on his said Expedition amounting to the sum of 735[l] 11[s] 3[d].

That your Memorialist humbly apprehending that his Majesty out of his Royal Bounty would at least allow him his Expences and some reasonable Compensation for his Loss of Time did on the delivering up of his plans and observations make out an Estimate of his Costs and Expences since His said Expedition in preparing his Maps Charts and Journals Amounting to the sum of £ 394—4[s] as p the Schedule hereto annexed besides which he has very Considerable fees yet to pay at the several Offices through which his papers have passed All which your Memorialist has represented to the Right Honble the Lords Commissioners of his Majestys Treasury.

That their Lordships not knowing what sum to allow your Memorialist for his Majestys Royal Bounty in this Case desired of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations to be informed what in their opinion would be a proper Bounty to be given to the petitioner. Whereupon the Lords of Trade signifyed that they were at a loss to form any opinion upon that Question. The Right Honourable the Lords of the Treasury being still at a loss in forming any opinion concerning what Bounty ought to be given your Memorialist are obliged to wait for some other order or Information of which M[r]. Bradshaw has acquainted the Clerk of Council in Writing.

That your Memorialist has Devoted his whole time in this Service ever since March 1766 in which time he has really suffered for loss time and Expence £ 1129–15–3 for which he has received no Satisfaction but depends wholly on his Majestys Royal Bounty and is now reduced to great Want and distress.

Therefore most humbly prays that your Lordship of your well known Goodness will Compassionate your Memorialists Case and take his Majestys pleasure whether he will of his Royal Bounty allow your Memoralist the said Sum of £ 1129–15–3 or what other Sum and Signify the same to the Right Honble the Lords Commissioners of his Majestys Treasury or give them such other Information on the Subject for his Speedy Relief as your Lordship shall think fit. and your Memorialist shall ever pray &c.

JONATHAN CARVER

Endorsed: To the Right Honble the Earl of Gower Lord President of his Majestys Most Honourable Privy Council The Memorial of Jonathan Carver 7:June 1770 Copy sent to the Treasury

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SCHEDULE OF EXPENSES

My Lord—on being Inform'd that the two Articles of Charge for Extra Expence amounting to the sum of 206[l] in the Schedule I gave in to your Lordship is thought not to be a proper charge on Goverment. I am willing to wave those charges, and Humbly hope your Lordship will please to Accept the following Schedule, And Recommend the same to the Lords of Treasury. and give Speedy relief to the distresses of My Lord Your Lordships Most Obedient Serv[t]

JONATHAN CARVER

For time and Expence from the first of January 1769 to the first of July 1770 the Time the petr expects to Arrive in America 546 Days @ 8 s. p Diem.....	218	8
To passage from America to London.....	21	
To passage from London Home to America.....	21	
To Cash paid Kitchen Engraver for Copper plate delivered to the Board of Trade.....	12	12
To 606 Days provision Supply.d on my Expedition in the Interior parts of America (Omited in the first Account) @ 4[s]/p Diem provision being Excessive Dear.....	121	4
	£ 394	4
First Schedule	735	11 3
Total	£ 1129	15 3

Addressed: To the R.t Honbl the Earl Gower

An account of Loss of Time and Expense in preparing the Maps & Charts & Journals taken on my Journey into the Interiour part of America, And Delivering them to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.[79]

For Expence in Board Cloths washing and Lodging from the first of Jan.y 1769 to 1st of Jan.y 1770 whils[t] Drawing and Correcting Plans and Journals 365 Days @ 8/p Diem	146	
For Passage & Stores from America to London	21	
For Cash paid to the Kichen Engraver for Copper Plate Del.d to the Board of Trade 12 Guneas	12	12
For Expences in London from the first of January 1770 to the first of May 1770 @ 10s/p Diem 120 Days	60	
For Passage from London to America	21	
For Loss of Time from the first of January 1769 to the first of July 1770. the Expected to Arrive in America being 546 Days @ 8s/p Diem	218	
	479	0
For provision for self and two men from the first of May 1766 to the first of Dec.r 1767 being 606 Days @ 4s/p Diem. Provision being Excessive Dear	121	4
NB this Article was Omitted in the first Account		
Total £	600	4

FURTHER MEMORIALS

To The Right Honourable The Earl of Dartmouth His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the American Department, &c. &c. &c.—

The Memorial of Jonathan Carver[80] Most Humbly Sheweth— That Your Memorialist in the Year 1757 was appointed a Lieutenant in his Majesty's Provincial Troops in North America, and from his indefatiguable Labour and good Conduct was in the Year 1759 Promoted to the Head of a Company which he had the Honour of Commanding in several principal Battles, was wounded in his Leg at the bloody Massacree of the unhappy Gar-

[79] *Ibid.*

[80] Dartmouth Manuscripts; no pressmark.

rison of Fort William Henry at Lake George, All which may more fully appear to Your Lordship by Letters of Recommendation from General Officers Now in Your Memorialist Possession.

That at the Conclusion of the late war Your Memorialist *with other Officers in the Provincial* Service was disbanded without half Pay or any other Provision for his long and painfull services in defence of his King and Country.

That Your Memorialist being thus at Liberty and Ever desirous of rendering to his King and Country his best services, and hoping for further Protection of Government, undertook at his own Expence a most Fatiguing and dangerous Travel into the interior Country of North America, Explored the head branches of the Great River Mississippi and the unfrequented parts Westward, Made himself acquainted with the Language and Manners of the most Noted Nations of Indians towards the South Sea, Travelled further than any English Subject did before, or Even then the Noted French Travellers did (viz) Baron La Hontan, Charlevoix, and Hennepin took Draughts and plans of the Country for many thousands of miles to the Westward of any European Settlements

That Your Memoralist on his Return made Application to be reimbursed his Expences and Labour, and his Majesty was most Graciously pleased to order him a Sum of Money on his giving up his Journals Draughts and plans, which he chearfully did, tho the sum Received was but a little more than Equivolent to the Expences he was at, which Draughts and Plans wou'd then by a publication produce Your Memorialist a Considerable Relief.

That Your Memorialist has been for near three Years past without pay or Employment, his money being Quite Exhausted, is reduced to very great distress. Therefore Most humbly Soliscits Your Lordships humane interposition. And that Your Lordship will be pleased from the Nature of his Case and Your Well Known inclination to releave the Distressed, put him into Some Employment, Civil or Military whereby Your memorialist may git a Support. And Your Memorialist Will as in Duty Bound, Ever Pray

JONATHAN CARVER

Feb. 10th 1773.

Endorsed: The Memorial of Jonathan Carver Late a Captain in the Provincial Troops in North America.

To The Right Honorable The Earl of Dartmouth His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the American Department. And First Lord of Trade and Plantations. &c. &c. &c.

The Memorial of Jonathan Carver[81] Most Humbly Sheweth— That Your Memorialist having by his indefatigueable Labour and industry acquired a Considerable Knowledge in the Geography of America And the situation of the Appointments already made to Superintendants of Indian affairs, Humbly Conceives that no Department of Equal Extent in His Majesty's Dominions so much Needs a further appointment as the Country West of Lake Huron, Lying between the Illinois River on the south, And the Hudson Bay Company Terretories on the North, And as far West as His Majesty's Goverment may Extend, Which vast tract contains in one part about twelve Different Nations of Indians the Most of them at present but little known to Europeans, Besides a Number of Bands further west toward the South Seas who are not known only by Reports.

That your Memorialist from his great acquaintance and Extensive Knowledge of the Manners, Customs, and Languages of those interiour Indians, flatters himself that he Can be very usefull to the public if Employed as an Agent for Indian Affairs in those parts. That such an appointment will in no instance lessen the importance of or infringe upon any appointment of this Kind already Made. And that he may be further Employed as a Surveyor and Draughtsman to Communicate to Your Lordship as often as Oppertunity may offer every Necessary intelligence and Discovery that may be made or obtained by Your Memorialist.

That your Memorialist while on his travels among those distant Indians. Their Chiefs often Complained to him that they were not well known or not properly Represented to their Great Father the English King (as they Express[d] themselves) And many of them at that time Sollicited Your Memorialist to Represent their Case to their Great Father and acquaint his Majesty how much they Wished to be counted among his faithfull Children. And it was with Reluctance they let Your Memorialist Depart without Pledging himself to Return to them again within

[81] *Ibid.*

thirty Moons with good News from their Great Father, Meaning his most Gracious Majesty. Which when your Memorialist had Promised to do if their Great Father permitted, they with their Usual Ceremony adopted him a Chief and Depicted the Armorials of their Country on his Arm.

That Your Memorialist Can have no Motives of Pleasure or Profit from such a Recluse situation and Fatigueing Dangerous Enterprize among those Heathen Idolaters Whose Wellfare on Every accoun[t]. he Heartily wishes he may be the happy Means of Promoting. And also to Encrease Trade and become otherwise usefull to the Public by furthering any Discoveries across the Continent to the South Sea. As he was the first Englishman that ever set out on that undertaking.

Your memorialist Therefore most Humbly prays that Your Lordship would take into Your Wise Consideration his Case and Representations. together with His other Services for his King and Country, and grant him such Relief as Your Lordship may think most Convenient for the Public Good and the Wellfare of the Memorialist. And as in Duty Bound Will Ever Pray

JONATHAN CARVER.

February 25th, 1773.

Endorsed: The Memorial of Jonathan Carver Late a Captain in the Provincial Troops in North America 1773.

CARVER PAPERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.[82]

8949. Journal of the Travels of Jonathan Carver in 1766 and 1767. (1) Survey journal from Detroit to Michilimackinac; (2) journal, beginning May 20, 1766; (3) dictionary of the Naudouwessie language; (4) map of the Great Lakes from middle of Lake Huron westward, with colored plots of various Indian "kingdoms"; (5) *id.*, engraved, 1769, not colored; (6) same as (5), colored to correspond to original map (4); (7) different version of the journal with comments on the country; (8) additions in the form of numbered notes; (9) pen and ink

[82] Additional Manuscripts, 8949 and 8950. The calendar here given is from Andrews and Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783* (Washington, 1908).

drawing of pipe, tent, Buffalo snake, sword, tomahawk called "Naudouissie Break-head".

8950. Fair copy of Carver's Survey and Journal. Also map, engraved, finely colored, with the drawings in *8949* better executed.

Following these documents comes "The Same Journal put by the Author into a form which he intended for publication with several additions which seem to have been made from memory." Some additional pen and ink drawings with explanations, signed "Jonathan Carver"; also copies of speeches interchanged with the chief of the Naudouwessie, "when he was adopted chief in their Bands," May 1, 1767, with notes for the revision.

Bibliographical Data

When, after painstaking investigation, "A Bibliography of Carver's Travels" was prepared by the writer three years ago, it was hoped that it included all editions of the *Travels.*[83] However, some knowledge of the pitfalls that await the bibliographer bore fruit in the form of a guarded statement on that point. The wisdom of this course was soon made apparent; for, no sooner had the little study come from the printer's hand, than two editions, hitherto unknown to collectors in this country, came to light—Paris, 1802, and Braunschweig, 1830. By courtesy of Messrs. Wilberforce Eames and A. F. Bandelier, copies of these editions have been examined and are fully described below. The discovery of the Paris edition of 1802 by Mr. Eames made it clear that the supposition that the various Tours editions were translated from one of the earlier issues in English, was erroneous.[84] In all probability the Tours Carvers were reprinted from this Paris edition of 1802. Moreover, the title-page of the latter shows that it is a translation of an edition in German which had also escaped notice—namely, Campe's abridgment. Luckily, Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits learned of a copy of one of the Campe editions (there are several) in the library of Mr. Bandelier, who kindly sent it on to me for exam-

[83] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143–183.

[84] *Ibid*, p. 178, note.

ination. It is to be regretted that a positive statement cannot be made as to the number and dates of all these German editions; but, in addition to the one here described, the *Travels* appeared in abridged form in editions of Campe's collection printed in 1788 and 1801, and quite likely in several subsequent editions, of which the latest seems to be that of 1830. Unfortunately, copies of Campe have not been available for description, with the exception of the last named.

One cannot fail to be impressed by the marvelous popularity of Carver's book for a century following its publication; and it may not be out of place here to venture the hope that some publisher of Western Americana will, before long, republish the *Travels* in an edited edition, thus giving it the audience it so well deserves.

Paris, 1802 (two volumes bound in one)

Volume 1.

Half title: Bibliothèque | geographique et instructive, | on | recueil | de voyages intéressants.

Title: Voyage | dans l'intérieur | de l'Amérique Septentrionale, | pendant les années 1766, 1767 et 1768, | par J. Carver. | rédigé, | pour l'instruction et l'amusement de la jeunesse, | par Campe. | Traduit. de l'allemand avec des notes, et aug- | menté d'une notice géographique et historique | sur cette partie du monde, depuis sa décou- | verte jusqu'a nos jours; orné d'une figure, | et d'une carte d'après les dernières observa- | tions, notamment celles d'Alex. Mackensie. | Tome premier. | De l'imprimerie de guillelminet. | A Paris, | chez J. E. Gabriel Dufour, libraire, rue | de Tournon, no 1126. | Et à Amsterdam, chez le même. | AN XI—1802.

Collation: 12 mo; half-title, verso blank; title-page, verso blank; Notice historique et géographique, sur l'Amérique Septentrionale; servant d'instruction préliminaire pour le voyage de Carver. Par J. B. J. Breton, pp. [v]–lxiv; Voyage de Jonathan Carver, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, [chaps. 1–8], pp. [1]–136; Table des matières contenues dans ce volume, pp. [137]–139; verso of p. 139 blank.

Signatures: Half-title and title-page; a–e in sixes; 1–11 in sixes; 12 in four; total, 102 leaves.

Map: Amérique | Septentrionale | d'après | les dernières observations | par Hérisson, [left, lower corner], facing p. [1]; size, 7¾ x 10⅛ inches.

Volume 2.

Half-title: Same as volume 1.

Title: Same as volume 1, except 15th line, which reads: Tome second.

Collation: Half-title, verso blank; title-page, verso blank; Voyage de Jonathan Carver, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, [chaps. 9–25], pp. [1]–209; Table des matières contenues dans ce volume, pp. [210]–212.

Signatures: Half-title and title-page; 1–17 in sixes; 18 in four; total, 108 leaves.

Plate: [Engraving entitled] Danses des Femmes chez les Indiens de l'Amérique Septentrionale, facing title-page. This engraving is marked: Voyage de Campe, Tome vi, Carver, 2.

Braunschweig, 1830

Title: Sammtliche | Kinder-und Jugendschriften | von | Joachim Heinrich Campe. | Neue Gesammtausgabe der letzten Hand. | Zwanzigstes Bandchen. | Erste Sammlung | merkwurdiger Reisebeschreibungen. | Vierter Theil. | Braunschweig, | in der Schulbuchhandlung. | 1830.

Half title: Das | Anziehendste und Merkwurdigste | aus | Johann Carver's Reisen | durch die | innern Gegenden von Nordamerika.

Collation: 16mo; title-page, verso: Inhalt. | J. Carver's Reisen durch das Innere von Nordamerika. | Vorrede [in which it is stated that the present work is based on the Ebeling collection of travels, Hamburg, 1780], pp. [iii]–iv; half-title, verso blank; Einleitung, pp. [3]–5; [chapters 1–25, each with short descriptive heading], pp. 5–218.

Signatures: [1] in seven; 2–14 in eighths; total, 111 leaves.

No map or plates.

This collection of travels appears to have been bound two volumes in one; Carver's work is vol. 20. Volumes 19 and 20 are bound together. The former contains the following: (1) Kommodore Biron's Reise um die Erde. (2) Kapitan Wallis Reise um die Erde. (3) Kapitan Carteret's Reise um die Erde.

Mr. A. F. Bandelier's copy is in the original half-leather binding, and is lettered: Campe's | Jugendschriften. | 19. 20. Bändchen.

The Capture of Mackinac in 1812

By Louise Phelps Kellogg

Mackinac Island lies at the crossroads of the three largest of the Great Lakes—Huron, Superior, and Michigan. Its strategic importance has been recognized ever since the first white man adventured to the far Northwest. On its southern strand the bark huts of its native Chippewa were soon mingled with the white tents of French fur-traders, and the log chapel of the first missionaries arose temporarily upon the island.

Strangely enough, however, the French, throughout the hundred and fifty years of their occupancy of upper North America, had no permanent buildings upon the island itself. French Michilimackinac was first upon the north shore at St. Ignace; some time after the opening of the eighteenth century, the French fort was removed to the south shore of the Straits, and stood somewhat west of the present site of Mackinaw City. It remained for the British to utilize the advantages of the island site. During the latter years of the American Revolution Capt. Patrick Sinclair removed his military establishment to the site of the present Fort Mackinac, and the traders with all the motley throng of their dependents followed.

Speedily a permanent village sprang up around the fort and along the shores of the crescent-shaped harbor, whose permanent population, however, during the later years of the British regime probably did not exceed half a thousand. This consisted chiefly of retired fur-traders, worn-out French-Canadian *voyageurs*, and that class of half-breeds who had adopted the ways of the whites. Added to this were a small military garrison, seldom more than seventy-five soldiers, with a few officers of

Map of Mackinac Island

low rank, and a small contingent of customs officials, Indian agents, storekeepers, interpreters, and a justice of the peace.

In the spring, when the Straits of Mackinac were free of ice, flotillas of bark-canoes arrived from Montreal and the interior posts, and sailing schooners began to ply from Detroit to Green Bay, from Sault Ste. Marie to Chicago. Then suddenly the island overflowed with life, and the population increased from ten to twenty-fold. The aborigines, flocking in from all directions, lined the shores with their wigwams; barter and merry-making filled day and night; and Mackinac changed from a sleepy little wintering village to a cosmopolitan frontier town with the gaieties and industries of an open port.

The society of the island, however, maintained at all times a certain ordered stratification, the upper layer of which consisted of the great traders and outfitters, known to the fur-trade world as *bourgeois*. These consorted with the commandant of the fort and the chief Indian officials, forming among themselves a close coterie of fellowship. Many of these *bourgeois* summering at Mackinac had wintered in the wilds of the Saskatchewan, among the marshes of the upper Mississippi, or at the provincial villages of Green Bay or Prairie du Chien; others had come to this entrepôt of the upper country in fast canoes from luxurious quarters in Montreal or their country homes along the banks of the St. Lawrence. Most of the noted *bourgeois* were Scotchmen, whose boyhood in their native Highlands had given them the endurance of body and firmness of mind necessary to the emergencies of life in the wilds of the North American continent. Occasionally an enterprising Yankee had penetrated to this distant region, but had lost most of his native traits through association with these hearty Scotsmen and polite French-Canadians of the great fur companies.

Next below the *bourgeois,* in the fur-trade hierarchy, were the clerks or *commis,* young men of good family who had chosen this adventurous calling and were bound thereto by contracts for three to five years at nominal wages. Their hope was, that in the event of successful returns from their trading posts, they would in time be promoted to the *bourgeois* class. Mingled with these were the interpreters, frequently half-breed sons of the great traders, many of whom had been educated at Montreal or

Edinburgh. Lower still in rank stood the *engagés* or *voyageurs*, whether seasoned winterers or new "pork-eating" recruits. These were usually of the French-Canadian peasant class, full of fun, good humor, and joyous love of life; but without a thought of responsibility—hardy, agile burden-bearers, whose capacity for hardship was only equalled by their implicit obedience to the commands of their *bourgeois*.

Below and subordinate to all, the foundation upon which the structure of the fur-trade was reared, were the natives—scattered scantily throughout the vast interior wilderness, trapping a beaver or otter here, shooting a deer or buffalo there; dressing their skins with an infinite and toilsome labor; and hastening to Mackinac or some interior post to exchange their peltries for the necessities of clothing and ammunition, and the luxury of fire-water. To the Indian the fur-trade was the basis of existence. To its promoters it was an extensive but uncertain speculation—one year yielding enormous profits, another considerable losses.

The halcyon days of the fur-trade were during the British regime—the years of the American Revolution, and those immediately succeeding. It was at this time that the vast Northwest was opened up, that the rich furs of the great Northern rivers began to pour in, and that substantial fortunes were acquired in the space of a few years.

With so much at stake, it can easily be understood that when Mackinac was included in the lands conceded to the United States by Great Britain under the treaty of Paris (1783), the loss of this island seemed to the British fur-trading chiefs irreparable. This was the natural entrepôt of the region. To the nation that possessed this island fell the monopoly of trade in the far-flung hinterland of three great inland seas. Accordingly when its cession was rumored the government in London was bombarded by protests and remonstrances. Moved by these representations, even before the treaty was published the ministry issued secret instructions to its military agents in America to retain until further notice the posts along the Northwestern boundary.[1] Ostensibly this was to secure the payment of Brit-

[1] Andrew McLaughlin, "Western Posts and British Debts," in Amer. Hist. Soc. *Report*, 1894, pp. 414–418.

ish debts, and the fulfilment of the treaty stipulations regarding Loyalists. Virtually it was in the interests of the fur-trade, and Canadian commerce therein.

Upon the receipt of these orders Capt. Daniel Robertson, commandant at Mackinac, who had been ranging the northern coast of Lake Huron in search of a suitable site for his post, at once abandoned arrangements for removal and began improving his stronghold on the island. There, for thirteen years after this post had nominally been yielded to the United States, the fur-trade of the Britons flowed on in its accustomed channels. Scotsmen and French-Canadians went and came as freely as before. British garrisons sounded bugles night and morning over Fort Mackinac, and military orders from Montreal and Quebec were obeyed throughout the wide American territory lying between Lakes Michigan and Superior, and the upper waters of the Mississippi. For the Northwestern fur-trader and his Indian customer, the Revolution was as if it had not been. Faintly came to their ears the echo of Indian wars along the American border. Occasionally a party from the upper Great Lakes joined their hard-pressed red comrades in the Ohio country. A few of them attacked Fort Recovery, and returned to Mackinac with the gory scalps of "Big Knives" in their belts,[2] having left some warriors dead within the forest. But for the most part the Canadian fur-trade went on uninterruptedly in the great Northwest, and all the Northern aborigines acknowledged British suzerainty.

This condition of affairs could not always last. It was written in the law of nations that Mackinac belonged to the Americans, and President Washington in 1794 gave particular instructions to his envoy John Jay to secure the surrender of the Western posts. Jay's Treaty fixed July 1, 1796, as the date of such surrender; and the British fur-trade magnates and their military colleagues reluctantly obeyed.

In June, 1796, Maj. William Doyle of the Twenty-fourth Royal Infantry sent a subordinate to locate a post at the nearest available site on the British coast of Lake Huron[3]. By August, 1796, the transfer of the stores had been completed to

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, pp. 442–445.

[3] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 218, 236.

a fort recently erected on St. Joseph Island, opposite Detour, where entrance is made to St. Mary's River—a location about forty miles east-by-northeast from the island of Mackinac.[4] The new post was actually on American soil; but the international boundary had not yet been definitely determined, and was not for several years to come. Thus the new British post remained at St. Joseph, within the United States, and was there located at the time of the outbreak of the War of 1812–15.

Although the English forces departed from Mackinac in August, 1796, an American garrison did not reach there until two months later. Winthrop Sargent, secretary of Indiana Territory, within whose jurisdiction Mackinac was included, made a hasty trip thither during the summer,[5] possibly to establish the American customs service and to appoint a justice of the peace for the United States. The earliest American civil officials went out to Mackinac from Detroit. The garrison—consisting of a company of the First Infantry, commanded by Capt. Abner Prior, with a detachment of artillery, under the general charge of Maj. Henry Burbeck—arrived in October, and for the first time flew the stars and stripes from the flagstaff of the fort that had for thirteen years upheld British sovereignty upon American soil.

Meanwhile the fur-traders built storehouses and wharves at St. Joseph Island, and removed thither their main establishments to "avoid American taxes."[6] But the habits of the Indians were too firmly fixed, and the convenience of Mackinac Island too well recognized, to permit a diversion of the former channels of trade. Most of the old traders, therefore, conducted two establishments—one at Mackinac, under the shadow of the American flag, another at St. Joseph, under the protection of the union jack. The problem confronting the British was, to maintain their ascendency over the minds of the Northwestern natives, while Indian affairs were being administered by American officials. Large presents were sent up from Canada to attract and hold the wavering allegiance of the tribesmen. Each

[4] *Ibid*, p. 249; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, pp. 447,448. See also Thwaites, "The Story of Mackinac," in *Ibid*, xiv, p. 12.

[5] *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), ii, pp. 405, 410.

[6] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, p. 16.

chief who crossed from Mackinac to St. Joseph was treated with marked courtesy and accorded the gay red uniform and silver medal of King George; while the interior trading-posts on American territory, up and down the Mississippi and the St. Peters, as far west as the Missouri, within the present Dakotas, continued to float the British flag. Despite the nominal political sovereignty of the Americans, therefore, these far-away Indian trading-posts and villages still remained under the actual domination of British *bourgeois* and obeyed the orders of Canadian authorities.

It should be remembered that Mackinac was then much less accessible from the centres of American civilization than is in our day the remotest Philippine post. The young American army officers who were exiled to this far-away island had little interest in diverting the profits of the fur-trade into the coffers of their fellow countrymen. It was pleasanter, by far, to exchange courtesies with their professional neighbors on St. Joseph Island. If now and then an American trader ventured northward to Mackinac, he was either "frozen out" by British competitors or speedily assimilated to their type.

President Washington had, however, in his administration instituted a project which some years later President Jefferson earnestly promoted. Under this arrangement the American government itself was to turn trader, and while supplying the wants of the Indian, win his allegiance and affection. This was termed the "factory system," and had it been more honestly and efficiently administered, the British monopoly might have been broken, the allegiance of the tribesmen secured, and the loss of frontier forts and the sad barbarities that marked the war in the Northwest during the years 1812–13 prevented. The "factories," or United States trading establishments, were supposed to furnish goods to the Indians at cost. The federal government supplied the capital, appointed the salaried factors —who had no pecuniary interest in the trade—and bought the furs direct from the Indians. These were sold at auction in the Eastern cities, and the factory stores replenished from the proceeds. Upon its inauguration, the project promised well. Two causes, however, prevented its full success:

First, the credit system, which was popular with the Indians,

had become securely entrenched in the trade. According to this the trader was expected to furnish provisions, ammunition, and goods in advance, the tribesmen promising to pay with the proceeds of the first hunt. But the factors were forbidden by their government to extend credit; they were allowed to give out goods only in actual exchange for furs, and these latter the Indians were seldom provident enough to have accumulated. In many instances, therefore, the latter continued to patronize the private traders, and while remaining perpetually in their debt, were held to them in unswerving allegiance, despite higher prices and extortionate demands.

Secondly, the goods supplied to the factory by the government were as a rule of poor quality and little-suited to the trade. Moreover the United States agent was incapable of competing with the private trader in the matter of liquor, the presence of which was forbidden in the factory houses.

Nevertheless, the factories did exercise a powerful influence in reconciling the tribesmen to American rule. This is proved by the following citation from a British writer in 1812:[1]

> Of all projects of Gen. Washington after effecting the separation of those Colonies from the mother country; I apprehend this of the Trading houses, best calculated to undermine the influence of Great Britain, with the Indians. It was an appeal to their strongest feelings thro' the medium of their interest, and comprehensible by the simplest savage. He had only to present a portion of his furs etc., for barter to the Canadian Traders, and the like at the States Trading House, and the advantages of dealing with the latter were too palpable to be overlooked. Nor was he left to conjecture how so great a difference in his favor happened; The Agents of that Government, take good care to impress his mind with the idea, that it is the effect of the endeavors of the Americans to shield them from British impositions...

Not until 1808, twelve years after the Americans had taken possession of the harbor and fort, was a trading factory established at Mackinac, and a serious attempt made to turn the fur-trade contributory to that post into the United States channels, and thus to loosen the British hold on the affections of the tribesmen. But it was now too late for the attainment of that de-

[1] Bathurst papers in *Canadian Archives*, 1910, pp. 144 ff.

sired result. When the War of 1812–15 broke out, the empire of the British trader over the minds of the Northwestern aborigines proved to be secure, and at their bidding factory and fort fell unresistingly into the enemy's hands.

There was, moreover, operating throughout the years preceding 1812, yet another menace to American domination in the Northwest. This was the uprising within the limits of barbarism itself, of a new religion fostered by the Shawnee plotters, Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet. As early as 1807 an official at St. Joseph writes:[8]

> All the Ottawas from L'arbre au Croche adhere strictly to the Shawney Prophet's advice, they do not wear Hats, Drink or Conjure. * * * Whiskey & Rum is a Drug, the Indians do not purchase One Gallo per month.

That is, they abjured the white man's dress and drink. In reporting this movement to headquarters, the American commandant enclosed a secret speech, wherein the Great Spirit was made to say:[9] "I am the Father of the red man, the Frenchman, Englishman and Spaniard; but the American I did not make."

The commandant concludes:

> The cause of the hostile feeling, on the part of the Indians is principally to be attributed to the influence of foreigners trading in the country.

The American military officers and Indian agents at the Mackinac factory were thus systematically discredited in the eyes of the natives, in order that the great "interest" might flourish, and Canadians monopolize the fur-trade. "The instant we lose the Upper Province," writes a Loyalist in 1800, "Montreal that wealthy town is ruined, or changes sides."[10] The key to the Upper Province being the island of Mackinac, plans were laid to seize it on the first pretext that offered.

During the long period of strained relations the British were beforehand with their preparations for war, but the Americans, apparently oblivious of danger, left their most vulnerable forts

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[8] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 322.

[9] *Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, i, p. 798.

[10] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, p. 13.

unprotected. This was not for lack of warning, for in February, 1811, Nicolas Boilvin, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, wrote to the secretary of war that the Canadian traders were preparing the Indians for war.[11] By December of that year the British General Isaac Brock, the military genius of the Anglo-American war, had outlined to Governor Prevost of Canada a plan to take Mackinac by an expedition from the post of St. Joseph, as soon as war was declared. If they did not thus frustrate the enemy, the Americans might capture St. Joseph, he said, and destroy the fur-trade.[12]

By the opening of the year 1812, British preparations were in full swing. In February, Brock was in correspondence with an energetic and influential Wisconsin fur-trader, Robert Dickson, who agreed to bring in the Indians of the far West to assist in the capture of the coveted post.[13] Dickson was English born, but with several of his brothers had in early life settled on the Niagara frontier; his enterprising spirit took him into the fur-trade, while his brothers became merchants at Queenston and vicinity. Arriving in the upper country, Dickson operated upon the Mississippi above Prairie du Chien, where he gained a complete ascendency over the Sioux, one of whose maidens he took to wife. In 1802 Dickson accepted an American commission as justice of the peace at Prairie du Chien;[14] but when Pike visited that region in 1805–06, and had much intercourse with Dickson, there is nothing in his report to show that he regarded the latter other than as one of the most intelligent of the foreign traders.[15] During the entire period of the War of 1812–15, Dickson was the active British agent in the territory west of Lake Michigan, and we shall see how potent was his influence with the tribesmen engaged to assist in the capture of Mackinac.

While Dickson was thus marshalling his forest allies, the American garrison at Mackinac engaged in their accustomed

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[11] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 251.

[12] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxv, p. 291.

[13] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 139, 140.

[14] Indiana Hist. Soc. *Publications*, iii, pp. 110, 112.

[15] Elliott Coues, *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (N. Y. 1895), i, *passim.*

FORT MACKINAC AND THE EASTERN PART OF THE VILLAGE

From a recent photograph. The old Protestant mission is near the steeple

round of routine, with no heed to these hostile preparations. The officer in charge, Porter Hanks, was a young lieutenant of artillery from Massachusetts, who had been seven years in the service, and under him were less than sixty effective men. His sad fate, after the peaceful surrender at Mackinac, adds a tragic interest to that event.[16] The only other commissioned officers were Archibald Darragh of Pennsylvania, who was also an artillery lieutenant, and Sylvester Day of Vermont, surgeon's mate, who lived not in the fort but in the village.

The garrison of the British fort at St. Joseph was no larger than that of Mackinac, but was commanded by a veteran officer, Capt. Charles Roberts, who had seen much service in the Napoleonic wars, especially in India and Ceylon. After nearly twenty years in the Orient, he was transferred to the Tenth Royal Veteran Battalion and with a detachment of about fifty was sent in September, 1811, to garrison Fort St. Joseph. Although unaccustomed to Indian warfare, his swift movements, command of resources, and ascendency over his subordinates prove him to have been an excellent officer, well-fitted for his trust.

War was declared June 18; but it was July 2 before the news officially reached the American General William Hull on his march to Detroit, where three days later the troops arrived. Communication was direct and frequent between Detroit and Mackinac, and Hull must have realized the imminent danger of the garrison at the latter place; yet no message was sent to Lieutenant Hanks, who until his post was besieged and its surrender demanded by the enemy, had no knowledge of the outbreak of war.

The St. Joseph garrison was better informed. The situation of that post had long been a matter of solicitude to Brock. On his receipt June 26, through private sources, of the news that the declaration of war had passed Congress, a fast express was dispatched to Roberts to prepare for an immediate attack on Mackinac.[17] The news of the declaration arrived June 24 at

[16] He was sent on parole to Detroit, where during the siege he was cut in two by a cannon ball and died instantly—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 94, 96.

[17] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, p. 101.

Quebec, and Governor-General Sir George Prevost likewise sent orders to Roberts, instructing him, however, to act wholly on the defensive. The North West Fur Trade Company's flotilla was at this time just on the point of setting forth from Montreal. The company's officers offered to make room for six soldiers apiece, in each of six canoes, thus reinforcing Roberts with a detachment of thirty-six regulars. But the governor-general thought it inadvisable at this critical moment to weaken his Canadian regiments on the St. Lawrence to this degree.[18] Moreover, he was of opinion that the sun of diplomacy would dispel the threatening war-cloud, and peace be more likely to be preserved if no aggressive action were taken.

Sir George's communications to Brock were of so pacific a temper, that the latter was induced to think better of his first hasty orders to Captain Roberts to take the offensive. Whereupon he dispatched on June 29 a second express suspending the preceding order, following this on July 4 with a third, giving the commandant at St. Joseph discretionary powers to attack or defend.[19]

The first of Brock's expresses reached St. Joseph July 8, and Roberts began at once to prepare for the expedition which was so eagerly desired. Toussaint Pothier, agent for the South West Company at St. Joseph, and Lewis Crawford, a *bourgeois* of the same concern, immediately recruited a company of French-Canadian *engagés*. At Sault Ste. Marie, where John Johnston and Augustin Nolin had trading establishments, their sons and dependents were quickly enrolled; and supplies of provisions and munitions of war were placed at Captain Roberts's disposal.

When the suspensory orders arrived, July 12, Roberts was in a state of preparation that augured ill for the unsuspecting garrison at Mackinac, forty miles away.[20] Dickson having recently arrived with his barbarian allies at St. Joseph, chafed at the delay caused by this new order. On July 13 he wrote to the governor-general:[21]

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[18] Lady Edgar, *General Brock* (Toronto, 1904), p. 204.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 210.

[20] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 101, 102.

[21] MS. letter from the Canadian Archives at Ottawa—Series C, vol. 256, p. 187.

I had intended at this moment to have paid Your Honor a visit, in order to have had the satisfaction of representing to you the state of the Country, and several other interesting subjects in the present crisis; but I have deferred this that I may be ready for the attack of Michilimackinac, so earnestly wished for, as the means of securing the Communication to the Mississippi and retaining and Supporting all the Indian tribes in their present happy disposition so favorable to the interest of Britain.

Brock's third message, with its discretionary privileges, arrived at St. Joseph July 15. The preparations already begun were now resumed with eagerness, and by ten o'clock of the following day the little expedition was on its way.

Naval flotillas have appeared upon the Great Lakes only during the second war with England. This one from St. Joseph to Mackinac was the precursor of them all. There was but one fair-sized vessel, the North West Company's trading schooner "Caledonia," a name indicating the nationality of its owners. On its deck were mounted two brass six-pound cannon, and it transported the officers of the regulars, the *bourgeois* commanding the militia contingent, and the leaders of the Indians. The remainder of the force and supplies were conveyed in *batteaux* (sometimes called "Mackinac boats") and birch-bark canoes. The flotilla made a brave spectacle at the moment of embarkation. First, the British regulars in their red coats, with fife and drum sounding, their banners floating gaily, marched to the wharf under command of three subaltern officers. Forming the second contingent was the brigade of Canadian *voyageurs,* uniformed in their accustomed garb of capots, bright sashes, silk kerchiefs, and moccasins, and officered by their *bourgeois,* Pothier and Crawford, the British traders from Sault Ste. Marie—John Johnston, George Ermatinger, and Augustin Nolin—acting as volunteers. Lastly, came the natives in full paraphernalia of war.

From the Western waters, under charge of Dickson, were representatives of three tribes: Fierce Sioux from the plains beyond the Mississippi, mustering about half a hundred warriors for the fray. The Winnebago, the intractable Eastern Dakota from Wisconsin, numbered more than two score. Among them might have been seen Wild Cat, chief of the village on Garlic Island in Lake Winnebago; and Black Wolf and the Teal, from other

villages on its shores. The noted Decorah family was represented by the chief known as Big Canoe, or One-Eyed Decorah, later to become the captor of the Sauk fugitive, Black Hawk. The third tribe enrolled under Dickson's command were the Menominee, from the shores of Green Bay. Nearly forty of their warriors were present under the direct leadership of Tomah, their head chief; Oshkosh, then a young warrior but later a chief, Souligny, Grizzly Bear, and Iometah are also known to have been of the party.[22]

The eagerness of Dickson's warriors animated the other tribesmen. The Ottawa and Chippewa, whose habitat was in the Lake Michigan region, were inclined to be lukewarm and discreetly to await the outcome of the contest between the two pale-face nations. Between the 9th and the 15th of July every possible pressure was exerted to induce them to join the British force. A council was held at St. Joseph. Amable Chevalier, one of the most influential of the Ottawa chiefs, declared for the British and was sent to the village of his tribe at l'Arbre Croche (now Harbor Springs, Mich.) to arouse a war feeling and bring a large contingent for the expedition. In this effort he was unsuccessful, for only after the capture of the fort did the main body of the Ottawa come in. On leaving St. Joseph, however, the British mustered nearly 300 neighboring Indians who were officered by John Askin Jr., storekeeper at St. Joseph, Charles Langlade the younger, and Michel Cadotte Jr., from La Pointe on Lake Superior.[23] There were thus embarked on this hazardous adventure from 600 to 700 men,[24] white and red,

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[22] Grignon's "Recollections," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 268, 269.

[23] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 112, 113, 141–144.

[24] The estimates of numbers differ widely. Hanks gives a list from "a source that admits no doubt" in John Brannan, *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the U. S. during the War with Great Britain* (Washington, 1823), p. 36: regulars, 46; Canadian militia, 260; Sioux, 56; Winnebago, 48; Folle Avoine, 39; Chippewa and Ottawa, 572—total, 1021. This is much larger than Roberts's account in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, p. 109; he says, 150 Canadians, 300 Indians. Askin (*Ibid.* p. 112) says: Canadians about 200, Dickson's Indians 113; those he led 280—total about 600. It should be remembered that Hanks had an incentive to enlarge upon and Roberts to decrease the numbers; Askin's estimate is therefore probably near the facts.

all eager for the contest and anxious to regain the coveted post on Mackinac Island.

At Fort Mackinac, meanwhile, there was much uneasiness due to flying rumors and the estranged manner of the natives. Within the Indian country intelligence passes rapidly, but is communicated only to those for whom it is designed. Not until July 16, when the flotilla was actually starting, did the American interpreter learn from an Indian acquaintance of the prospective attack. Hanks had had no news of the declaration of war, but he was aware of the strained relations between the powers, and of the eager desire of the British to repossess Fort Mackinac. He was therefore inclined to credit the interpreter's report, particularly since the neighboring Chippewa and Ottawa chiefs were acting with marked coolness, whereas a few days earlier they had professed strong friendship for their American "fathers."

The lieutenant was in an embarrassing position. His fort could be maintained with ease against any attacks of aborigines, but was in no wise adapted to resist a civilized enemy, supported by cannon. Some portions of the outworks were dilapidated, pickets rotted, and earthworks crumbling. The garrison consisted of but fifty-seven effective men, to withstand a force that might probably be from ten to twenty times as large. Moreover, most of the expected Canadian and Indian assailants were familiar with the town and fort, knew the weak places and entrances of the latter, and could easily scale its picketed walls with ladders. Hanks, to be sure, possessed several pieces of cannon, commanding the harbor to the south; but to train these on the north-coming assailants would, with his insufficient force of gunners, be difficult. Still worse was the fact that the entire fort was commanded by the central ridge of the island, rising some distance to the rear (north) of the fort, and completely overlooking it. Whether this topographical weakness of the defense had been noticed by the commandant previous to the capture, we cannot know; but at this late hour there was no time for occupying the wooded height, even had the garrison been sufficient to hold it.

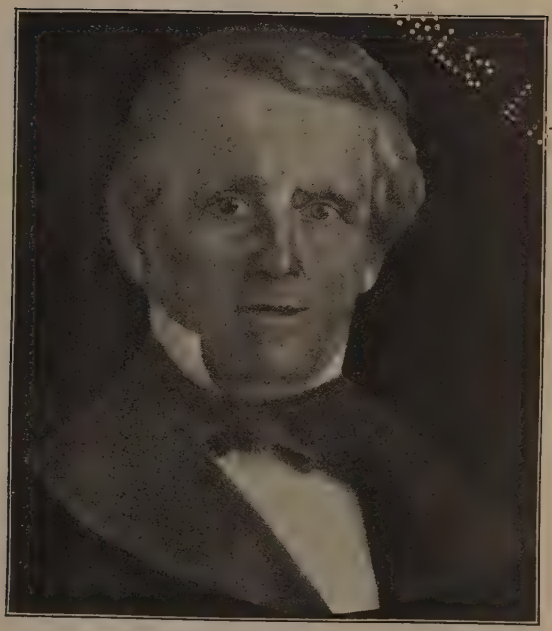
In his perplexity Hanks summoned to council the principal American traders of the village, and with them and his two

officers discussed the situation. Chief among these merchants was Michael Dousman from Pennsylvania, who, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, had come out to Mackinac as sutler for the troops, and seeing an opportunity in the fur-trade had begun considerable operations in that line. His colleagues and partners in business were nearly all British traders, with whom he was on terms of amenity, if not of intimacy. It was therefore suggested at the council that Dousman could, without exciting suspicion, visit the post at St. Joseph, ostensibly in search of his outfit in Lake Superior that ought soon to be coming down the lake, and while at the British post learn the situation of military affairs.[25]

Lulled to security by this proposition, the council broke up cheerfully, and Dousman made immediate preparations for his journey. Like all principal traders he kept for his private use a canoe manned by his own *engagés*. The crew was quickly assembled at the waterside, and late in the afternoon the little craft got under way. Leaving the harbor where several small trading vessels from other Lake Michigan ports lay at anchor, its prow was turned toward the darkening east. Dousman, accustomed to such night voyages, composed himself to rest, lulled by the sweeping strokes of his vigorous boatmen urging along the light canoe. They were about opposite Goose Island, some fifteen miles on their way, when suddenly they were surrounded by a host of canoes, and Dousman wakened from a doze to find himself in the midst of the hostile flotilla. Taken provisional prisoner and carried to the "Caledonia," he found himself among his British friends, whose interests, save for the question of national sovereignty over the fort at Mackinac, were identical with his own.

The difficulties of the situation were gravely discussed. Dousman frankly admitted that the American garrison was ignorant of the approaching attack, and while alarmed and suspicious was entirely unprepared for effective defense. The permanent inhabitants of the island were for the most part French-Canadians, and as such quite as British in their sympathies as those in the attacking party. But the traders and officers well knew that

[25] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, 11, p. 123.



MICHAEL DOUSMAN

From oil portrait in possession of his grandson, Edward Dousman

at the firing of the first gun the furies of Indian warfare would be let loose upon the unsuspecting and innocent *habitants,* their houses plundered, and their own and their women and children's lives forfeited.

The problem, therefore, was to save these innocent people, friends of the invading party, and secure without bloodshed the surrender of the fort. Dousman was thereupon released on parole of honor not to give intelligence to the garrison, but with instructions to alarm the village and cause the *habitants* to retreat to a designated refuge—the old distillery on the southwest side of the island, some distance from the fort. There the British officers promised to station a guard to protect from the Indians the lives of these fugitives. Orders were also issued to the leaders of the aboriginal forces to seek at all hazards to restrain their followers from plunder, murder, and the usual horrid accessories of Indian warfare.

In the interest of humanity Dousman retraced his course, and reached port in the early dawn.[26] Soon all was confusing bustle in the village, women hurrying here and there striving to collect their cherished belongings, and piling them on the few carts for men to haul to the designated rendezvous. Men carrying small children might have been dimly descried in the feeble light hurriedly slipping through the dark streets into the open country along the island's beach. In their barracks on the heights above the town, the little garrison slept in fancied security, the pacing sentinels perceiving only the dim harbor lights and the far stretch of silent waters.

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[26] There has been much discussion as to whether or not Dousman was justified in his action, and some American citizens were known to have applied to him the ugly epithet of "traitor." It involves a nice ethical distinction to decide such a matter as this. Dousman was sent out by the commanding officer, in reality as a spy. His life therefore might have been claimed in forfeit by the British leader. He appeared before them, however, in the character of a merchant conducting his trade. He held a commission as captain of militia in the American service, but in this case he was acting merely as a private citizen. As such he had every right to protect his friends and dependents. The result of his action seems to have justified his acceptance of a parole, and his promise not to notify the American commandant.

Meanwhile the British had made good progress. Sailing and rowing all night, they had passed around the northern end of the island, and about three o'clock in the morning prepared to disembark. On the heavily-wooded western shore of Mackinac Island lies a pretty cove, with shelving, yellow sands curving in a half circle, known to this day as "British Landing." Hidden by the dense forest of birches and cedar, the operations of the invaders were secure from American view. The canoes were peacefully beached and the batteaux unloaded with no danger of discovery. Before the sun had fairly risen on the morning of July 17, the woods were alive with eager workers. With vigorous rapidity, the Canadian militia dragged the little cannon up the gentle slope culminating in the height commanding the post—the eminence where afterwards was built Fort Holmes.

The unusual stir in the village at last reached the ears of the garrison physician, Dr. Sylvester Day, who dwelt near the strand. Hurrying up the steep pathway to the fort, he aroused Lieutenant Hanks and informed him of what was transpiring below. About the same time some of the soldiers discovered a strange sight on the hill in their rear. Men were busily engaged with something unwieldy in their midst, that looked marvellously like their own howitzers planted on the bastions. Soon from the wooded upland came the wild, exultant yells of painted Indians, and the beleaguered garrison awoke to the grave nature of the crisis. With soldierly instincts, Hanks ordered ammunition to the blockhouses, that every gun might be charged to repel assault. But the cannon on the height above the fort warned him that his defense would be in vain. Soon, a flag of truce approached from out the woods; with it were three American merchants whom the British had made prisoners—John Dousman, Samuel Abbott, and Ambrose Davenport, who strongly advised acceptance of the offered terms.

In view of the impossibility of effective defense with assailants numbering, as he was informed, some twenty times his own force—the major part composed of merciless savages, whose code of war was indiscriminate massacre—the young lieutenant was readily induced to accept their advice and capitulate without further attempt at resistance; a conclusion hastened by the consciousness that his government had neglected to give him

British Landing, Mackinac Island

From photograph, 1910

proper warning. "This, Sir," he says in the official report to his superior, referring to the demand for the fort's surrender to his Britannic majesty, "was the first intimation I had of the declaration of war."[27] The terms offered by the British were liberal and honorable. The fort was to be immediately surrendered, but the garrison were to march out with honors of war, as prisoners on parole. The merchant vessels in the harbor were to be the victors' prize, but private property would be respected, and all citizens of the United States were to be allowed a month to depart from the island. The articles of surrender were signed upon the "Heights above Fort Michilimackinac" after eleven o'clock of July 17. At noon the Americans filed out from the fort, and the British flag again floated to the breeze on the lovely island's crest.[28] The best of the story remains to be told:

> It is a Circumstance I believe without precedent, and demands the greatest praise for all those who conducted the Indians that although these peoples minds were much heated, yet as soon as they heard the Capitulation was signed they all returned to their Canoes, and not one drop either of mans or animals Blood was spilt, till I gave an order for a certain number of Bullocks to be purchased for them.

Thus writes the generous conqueror, and for this happy moderation all honor should be accorded to Robert Dickson, John Askin Jr., and their several aids and interpreters. These Indians were of the same fierce tribes, it should be noted, as those who aided in the massacre at Fort Dearborn and incited that at the River Raisin. That they failed in like conduct at Mackinac was due to the stern control exercised over them by their leaders, and to the speedy surrender of the coveted post. The leader of the Ottawa wrote:[29]

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[27] Hanks's letter reporting his surrender to General Hull is printed in Brannan, *Letters*, pp. 34-36. It was written the day after he reached Detroit as a prisoner on parole.

[28] Terms of capitulation in William James, *Military Occurrences of the Late War* (London, 1818), i, p. 354; see also Roberts's report in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 108, 109. Roberts writes to Brock that he hopes he has not exceeded instructions, thus showing the discretionary and cautious nature of his orders from that general.

[29] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, p. 113.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the Fort Capitulated without firing a single gun, for had they done so, I firmly believe not a soul of them would have been saved. * * * I never saw so determined a set of people as the Chippewas & Ottawas were. Since the capitulation they have not drunk a single drop of Liquor, nor even killed a Fowl belonging to any person (a thing never Known before) for they generally destroy everything they meet with.

Thus bloodlessly and effectively was completed the capture of Mackinac, the first Western operation in the War of 1812–15. The conquest thus secured by the connivance of the fur-traders, was, notwithstanding all American efforts to repossess the post, maintained in British hands throughout the three succeeding years of the war.

The sympathetic eagerness of the North West fur-traders is further evidenced by the rapidity with which they responded to the express that, before leaving St. Joseph, Roberts sent out to Fort William, their headquarters on the far western shore of Lake Superior. The express arrived in eight days after his departure. Within a month, a large contingent with cannon and militia came in from Lake Superior, only to find the work of capture accomplished by their *confrères*, and the British flag already raised over the long-coveted island.[30]

Meanwhile the wavering Indian nations as usual gave their immediate allegiance to the victors. The day after the capitulation, 150 Ottawa from l'Arbre Croche came in, and detachments of Dickson's dusky band were dispatched to reinforce the British troops at Amherstburg.

The paroled American officers and men were sent down to Detroit, where they arrived August 4, under convoy of Robert Livingston. But General Hull refused to admit the validity of the capitulation, took Livingston prisoner, and ordered the troops into his forces, and Hanks was killed, August 16, at the storming of Detroit.[31]

The property losses to the Americans, due to the capture of Mackinac, were considerable. The fur-trade factory had on hand goods to the amount of about $10,000, all of which fell

[30] William Hull, *Defense* (Boston, 1814), p. 66; L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), ii. p. 42.

[31] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 94.

into the enemy's hands. Later, $2,700 worth of native debts were collected by the British captors. Hanks and the American factor turned over $407 in ready money; while on board the vessels in the harbor were the proceeds of the Chicago factory, amounting to $5,781.91, which were added to the spoils.[32] The merchant vessels in the harbor were also pillaged of their contents, all that belonged to American citizens being confiscated by the conquerors.[33]

The property loss was, however, the least of the evils that followed the capitulation. Although accomplished without bloodshed or excesses, the fall of Mackinac in July was directly responsible for the great disasters to the American cause in the following August. Emboldened by this success of British arms on the upper lakes, the Indians of the entire hinterland of the Northwest embraced the cause of His Majesty, and planned to cut off all American garrisons in the country, and to drive out or capture every trader and outpost settlement. At Green Bay, there dwelt but one American family; it received an unwelcome visit, but was spared from massacre.[34] The disastrous result at Chicago is well-known; but while the Historical Society of that city are commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the attack on the earliest settlers,[35] it may be interesting to note that the bloodless capture of Fort Mackinac on July 17 led directly to the bloody sacrifice of Fort Dearborn's garrison on August 15. The effect on Hull's position at Detroit was equally unfortunate. He himself offered as the chief reason for his surrender that because of the capitulation of Mackinac, he realized that from two to three thousand savages would be upon his flank.[36] It was the dread of the barbarous Northern savages that blanched his cheek, and filling his heart with forebodings persuaded him of the necessity of immediate capitulation.

The loss of Chicago and Detroit was the most serious result of

[32] *Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, ii, p. 59.

[33] *Niles' Register*, ii, p. 414.

[34] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1911, pp. 149–151.

[35] Chicago *Record-Herald*, Aug. 11 and 16.

[36] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxv, p. 327; Hull, *Defense*, pp. 57, 64; Alfred T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812* (Boston, 1905), i, pp. 304–307.

Mackinac's fall, but the southwestern settlements in Illinois and Missouri were likewise harassed in consequence. September 5, 1812, a large body of Western savages, chiefly Sauk and Winnebago, made an assault on Fort Madison, a government post on the Mississippi in the present state of Iowa. The attack was repulsed, but only after the burning of the government's fur-trade factory, and the loss of one life and much property.[37]

The inhabitants on the northern edge of settlements in Illinois and Missouri were also driven into forts, and many casualties and horrors are detailed by local historians.[38] Vigorous efforts of the territorial governors were eventually successful in protecting the body of the settlers from massacre and pillage; but the advance of the frontier was checked for several years, and the relations between the red and white men greatly embittered.

The Americans made several attempts to recapture Mackinac. After the regaining of Detroit, and the battle of the Thames, a formidable armament was outfitted on Lake Huron, commanded by Col. George Croghan, the hero of Fort Stephenson. The regiment visited and destroyed Fort St. Joseph and the trading schooner "Mink," burned the traders' establishments at Sault Ste. Marie, and captured and rifled the fur-trading schooner "Nancy." Their attack on Fort Mackinac, however, was repulsed with heavy loss, and the British maintained their garrison upon the island until six months after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

July 18, 1815, just three years and a day after the American capitulation, the British emblem was lowered from the staff-head and her garrison marched out of the fort which they had so eagerly won and valiantly defended. The domination of the British fur-traders over the upper Great Lakes, in Wisconsin, and in the upper Mississippi basin, was at an end. The return of an American garrison to Fort Mackinac was the prelude to a rush of agricultural settlement, before whose power the fur-trader and the aborigine alike disappeared. Still on the fairy

[37] Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), iii, p. 102; *Annals of Iowa*, 3d ser, iii, pp. 97–110; *Niles' Register*, iii, p. 142.

[38] N. W. Edwards, *Life and Times of Ninian Edwards* (Springfield, Ill., 1870), pp. 70–72, 74–76; Houck, *Missouri*, iii, pp. 106–109.

island of the straits, the old white fort crowns the little harbor; but in our day the only invaders are the hosts of summer tourists, from whom the villagers reap an annual harvest quite as large and garnered with far less peril than that won by their forebears during the regime of the fur-trade.

William Powell's Recollections

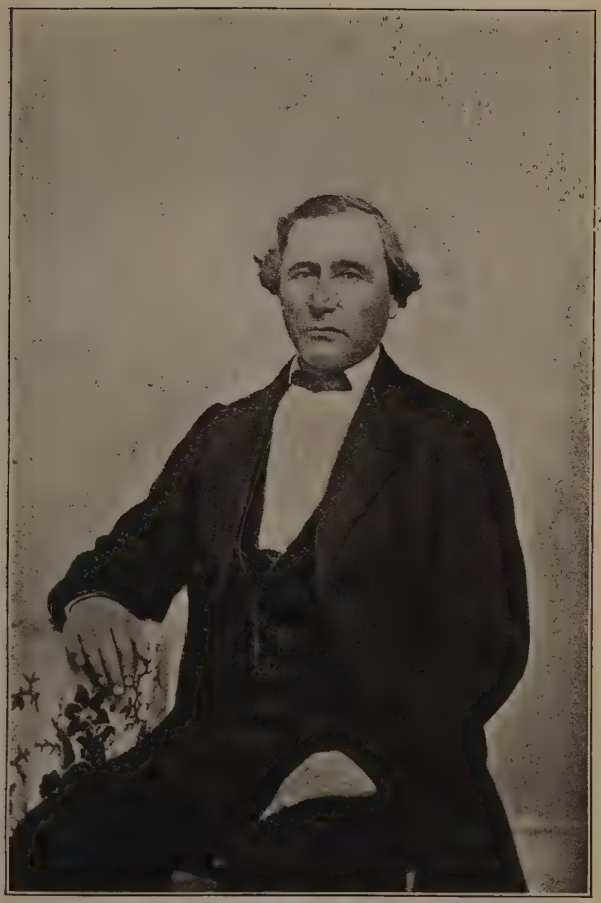
In an Interview with Lyman C. Draper[1]

Peter Powell,[2] my father, was born in England in 1778. Coming to what is now Wisconsin in 1800, he engaged in the Indian trade, his earliest post being at White Rapids on Menominee River, about eighty miles from Green Bay; he made his returns at Mackinac and passed his summers at Green Bay settlement. At first he was a clerk for Jacob Franks,[3] but afterwards en-

[1] In the Society's annual report for 1878 (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 53) is the following: "The secretary, during the past year, * * * made a visit to Capt. Wm. Powell, of Shawano County, a native of Wisconsin, now bordering closely on three score and ten, and intimately connected with the Menomonees and other Wisconsin tribes since 1819, and noted down a lengthy statement of his dictation, embracing his recollections of the Menomonees and their prominent Chiefs, Col. Robert Dickson, the British leader of the Northwestern Indian tribes during the War of 1812–15, and the derivation and meaning of many Indian geographical names in Wisconsin having a Menomonee origin." The interview which Doctor Draper took down in notes at the time, has ever since remained only in manuscript. In editing this document for the present publication, we have combined therewith a letter written by William Powell some years later to the present Editor, detailing some additional facts in the lives of both father and son. In working both sources into a connected narrative, we have made only such changes as involved re-arranging the material and improving the phraseology of necessary points. It is believed that Powell's Recollections, while not as valuable as those of Augustin Grignon, published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, will prove an authoritative and substantial contribution to early Wisconsin history.—Ed.

[2] The brief sketch of Peter Powell in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 358, was written before this manuscript came to light.—Ed.

[3] For a sketch of this trader see *Id*, xviii, p. 463, note 85.—Ed.



William Powell (1810–1885)

Enlarged from photograph in possession of the Society

gaged in trade for himself. My mother was Mary Jeffrey, a native of Green Bay, and half Menominee. Her father was an Englishman, and her mother belonged to the family of chief Oshkosh. My father and mother were married at Mackinac in 1802. They had a family of eight, five sons and three daughters, of which there are only myself and a younger brother now (1877) living. I was the fourth child and was born near Death's Door at the entrance to Green Bay. My father was returning from Mackinac to Green Bay with my mother—he had taken her with him to Mackinac when he went after his goods; she was taken sick en route, and I was born the twenty-fifth of September, 1810.

My father was with Colonel McKay at the capture of Prairie du Chien.[4] In August, 1819 [July, 1818],[5] Col. Robert Dickson,[6] formerly Indian agent for the British in the War of 1812, visited Green Bay, and advised my father to go to Pembina to trade, saying that he was British agent there,[7] and would do what he could to favor his interests.

In company with Dickson we started from Green Bay in a bark canoe, hiring four French *voyageurs* and a hunter to kill game en route, as we could not carry provisions enough to last during the trip. We coasted Lake Michigan to Mackinac and up Sault St. Mary River into Lake Superior, coasted that lake and through the Lake [of the] Woods and Lake Winnipeg, thence up Red River to Pembina settlement, arriving at that

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[4] For a history of the expedition see *Id*, xi, pp. 254–270; xiii, pp. 1–14; and *post*. A sketch of McKay is in *Id*, xix, p. 365, note 12.—Ed.

[5] In his interview with Draper, Powell told him that they left for the Red River country in August, 1819. In the letter written later, however, he gave the date as July, 1818. In the light of his further statements and of other corroborating evidence, it seems probable that the latter was the correct date.—Ed.

[6] Dickson's career is sketched in *Id*, xii, pp. 133–153; additional facts are found in *Id*, xix, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

[7] Dickson was, in fact, agent for Lord Selkirk, and aiding him in his plans for settling the Red River country. About this time Dickson was urging all the prominent traders at Green Bay—Porlier, Lawe, and the Grignons—to remove to Red River and take with them the Menominee tribesmen. See documenth in *Id*. xx, *passim*. Apparently Powell was the only one of the old British traders who acceded to Dickson's request.—Ed.

place the last of September. There father engaged in the Indian trade, having purchased his goods from the Hudson's Bay Company; remained there three years; each spring he went to Hudson Bay with his furs and returned in the fall with his goods.

At the expiration of the three years he started back for Green Bay with his family, by a land route to the headwaters of Minnesota River. Late in November of 1821, we arrived at Lake Traverse, at a trading post then kept by Mr. Joseph D'Raville,[8] who was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and we passed the winter at that place. A short time after we arrived at Lake Traverse a man came there from Illinois, by the name of Dixson,[9] with a drove of cattle, on his way to Pembina settlement; but as winter commenced setting in he was obliged to remain there. During the winter he lost more than half of his cattle, killed by wolves and Sioux Indians.

In the spring of 1822 my father sold his carts and horses to Mr. D'Raville and bought two dugouts large enough to carry his family and his goods, descended Minnesota River to its mouth,[10] which emptied into the Mississippi about six miles

[8] This was Joseph Renville, a Dakota half-breed who was born near St. Paul about 1779. Educated in Canada, he early entered Dickson's employ and was interpreter and guide for Pike in 1805–06 and for Major Long in 1823. He served in the War of 1812–15 as captain in the British Indian department under Dickson, and afterwards received a pension. About 1819 he gave up this pension, became an American citizen, and in 1822 was one of the founders of the Columbia Fur Company. When this corporation was sold (1827) to the American Fur Company, he retired to Lac qui Parle and there died in 1846. A Minnesota county bears his name. See fuller biographical sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx.—Ed.

[9] On a map published in 1838 by Judson, of the territory west of the Mississippi, is traced a route from Des Moines River to Lake Traverse, marked "McKnight and Dixon's route, 1822." This no doubt refers to the cattle train here noted. Alexander Ross, *Red River Settlement* (London, 1856), p. 73, mentions the arrival in 1822 of a herd of 300 cattle that sold for good prices—the first, he says, that came to the colony.—Ed.

[10] In the Society's Wisconsin Mss., 10B28, is a letter from Peter Powell to John Lawe, dated Lake de Traverse, March 14, 1822. After speaking of the state of things in the Red River country, Powell con-

above St. Paul. That summer my father with all his family, except myself, arrived at Green Bay. He left me with Capt. William Alexander of the Fifth Regiment, U. S. A., who was stationed at Fort Snelling.[11] I was to stay with him until my father should send for me, in order to go to the school which was kept in the garrison for the officers' children.

Soon after my father returned to Green Bay he again engaged in the Indian trade. His wintering places were up the Mississippi, also up Minnesota River as far as the Blue Earth, which empties into it thirty to forty miles above St. Paul. In the spring he made his returns with his furs at Mackinac. In 1826 he stopped buying his goods from the American Fur Company and bought them from Daniel Whitney of Green Bay,[12] who was the only man in the Western Department who dared to oppose John Jacob Astor in the Indian trade. In the spring of 1827 my father built a log house on Lake Butte des Morts and left his family at that place while he wintered at his trading post; returning in the spring he passed the summer with his family at Butte des Morts. That place continued to be his home till his death in September, 1837. My mother survived him several years, was remarried, and died at Green Bay in the summer of 1844.

The French and Fox War[13]

From Iometah, Oshkosh, and other aged Menominee, I learned that the Sauk and Foxes once had a town at Red Banks; later they removed to Green Bay and got into trouble with the French

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tinues thus: "there is no prospect of doing anything in this Country. I have past a Miserable winter for starvation. I intend to pass the Spring a Hunting then go down to the Entry of St. Peters this Summer. * * * I am now much distressed, my family are Quite naked & on the point of Starving."—Ed.

[11] Alexander was at this time lieutenant in the 5th Infantry. He was from Tennessee, entered the regular army in 1820, was promoted to a captaincy in 1836, and died two years later.—Ed.

[12] For a sketch of this early Green Bay merchant, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 274, note 3.—Ed.

[13] See Louise P. Kellogg, "Fox Indian Wars," in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1907, pp. 142–188.—Ed.

and were made to retire to Little Butte des Morts—now Neenah. Here they exacted tribute in the following way: some of their leaders would post themselves on either side of the stream with a long pole, held up and leaning over the water, indicating that the trader's boats must heave to, and pay tribute before proceeding farther. Getting tired of these exactions, the French got up an expedition and drove them off from Little Butte des Morts. The Sauk and Foxes then retired to Big Butte des Morts and at that point renewed their exactions in the same way. At this time there was a Menominee who had married a Sauk wife. The French and Menominee at Green Bay prevailed on him to go to the Sauk and report some pitiful story of bad treatment on the part of his people as a reason why he had retired to Big Butte des Morts to make his future home with his wife's people; and to report also that there were some traders' boats soon coming up, upon which they could levy rich tribute.

In time the flotilla appeared in sight, each canoe covered with an oilcloth over a ridge-pole, like a roof. Beneath this were a body of armed French, while a large body of Menominee and Chippewa marched up the river by land. As soon as the fleet hove in sight of the town, the Menominee spy quietly and unnoticed took his departure, and apprised his countrymen whom he soon met, that the boats were nearing the Sauk and Fox village. Thereupon they hastened and crept into the rear of the place. As the boats came up, and the tribute poles were posted, the French made for the town landing, and the people rushed down to see and meet them. Then the boat coverings were suddenly thrown off, and the soldiers fired on the Sauk and Fox assemblage, who as they fled back to their houses to get their weapons, were met by the Menominee and Chippewa in the rear, and soon overpowered. Some fled to Winneconne, about three miles distant, where many were overtaken and killed. There their bones were left to bleach upon the ground, hence the name —Winneconne, "the place of skulls." Thus the Sauk and Foxes were again driven westward, up the Fox and down the Wisconsin. A part of them went up to Puckaway and Buffalo lakes, and settled there; the rest settled at Sauk Prairie on the Wisconsin, where subsequently they were joined by the others.

War of 1812-15

Chicago Massacre, 1812: Souligny related to me that a splendid-looking woman (who proved to have been an officer's wife), refused to surrender after the Indians attacked the retreating garrison. She stood up in a wagon and defended herself with her sword, cut and slashed with it, and perhaps wounded an Indian or two, when the Indians, who would have preserved her life, felt constrained to shoot her. Souligny spoke of her long, handsome, flowing hair. He likewise referred to her heroism in sacrificing her life rather than yield herself up a prisoner to the Indians. Such an act naturally attracted the attention of the warriors.[14]

Indians under Dickson. During 1812–13 Col. Robert Dickson wintered in a nice piece of timber on the west side of Lake Winnebago, between Garlic Island and Neenah—about half way between the Island and Neenah. He reached there late in 1812 with a large supply of British presents for the Indians, which he distributed liberally; and then the Indians retired for their winter's hunt, being admonished to meet him early in the spring to go upon the warpath.[15] They assembled in large numbers and received numerous presents and supplies; but at Mackinac a large portion of them backed out and returned home, so Souligny and others related, conveying the idea that only the boldest and bravest kept on.

At Fort Meigs, Souligny first met Tecumseh, shook hands with him, and represented that he regarded it as an honor to have met and fought by the side of so noted and brave a man. Tecumseh was tall, fully six feet, and well-formed. Arrived at Fort Meigs, they drew a party of Americans into an ambuscade

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[14] Probably this was Mrs. Corbin, wife of a sergeant. Mrs. Kinzie in *Waubun* (Caxton ed., 1901), p. 178, refers to her heroism. She also narrates the resistance of a Mrs. Holt, who hacked and cut with her husband's sword; but she was on horseback, not in a wagon; and moreover she was ultimately saved from death.—Ed.

[15] See Dickson papers in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 271–315; xix, pp. 344–346. In xi, p. 278, Dickson dates his letter from Garlic Island, which would seem to indicate that he wintered thereon, not on the mainland. Arndt, *post*, also locates Dickson on the island.—Ed.

[Colonel Dudley's party],[16] but after that failed to make any impression on the fort, only now and then picking off some of the sentinels. Finally as a last resort, Tecumseh formed the novel idea of the pretended fight in the woods—as if the Indians were encountering an American reinforcement—expecting the garrison would hasten out to the relief of their supposed friends. But General Harrison was too wary to be caught in any such trap.[17] During the siege two Menominee were captured by some American Shawnee, but managed to escape. Becoming discouraged, the British Indians wanted to go home, when Colonel Dickson and the British leaders, to divert their attention, led them against Sandusky. There the Indians picked off some of the Americans going for water; but after the British repulse, all retired.[18]

There probably were no Menominee at the taking of Detroit, or at the River Raisin. Souligny and others spoke as though their first service was when Dickson embodied them and led them to Fort Meigs and Sandusky.

Mackinac in 1814. There lived for many years a very aged Winnebago chief, called Caramaunee, at a little village composed of only three or four bark lodges belonging to himself and his sons-in-law, located about two miles east of what is since called Waukau. [Captain Powell suggests that this may be a slight change or corruption for Nahkaw].[19] East of Fox River, about two miles above Omro, is Delhi. Some two miles back [south] east of Delhi was Waukau, on the old Fort Winnebago trail from Green Bay to the Fox–Wisconsin portage. About two miles east [south] of Waukau, on the west bank of [the outlet of] Rush or Mud Lake, near the centre of the stream, was Car-

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[16] The interpolation is probably that of Dr. Draper, explaining Powell's reference to an ambuscade. For a brief account of the siege of Fort Meigs and Dudley's defeat (May 5, 1813) see C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 75–77.—Ed.

[17] Reference is here made to the second siege of Fort Meigs in July; see *Ibid*, p. 78.—Ed.

[18] This relates to the siege of Fort Stephenson, Aug. 1 and 2; *Ibid.* pp. 78, 79—Ed.

[19] Nahkaw was the Indian form of Caramaunee's name; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 181, note.—Ed.

amaunee's village.[20] He was a large, square-shouldered, stout man, not very tall, but with a powerful frame and long face. While his people were generally regarded as unreliable and thievish, Caramaunee bore a most excellent character, was liked by all traders, and was friendly to the whites. When I saw him last, about 1830, he seemed nearly a hundred years of age. He said he was out with Colonel Dickson in the War of 1812, went with the Menominee to Sandusky, and was at Mackinac when Major Holmes[21] was shot by L'Espagnol.

Caramaunee and L'Espagnol both gave me the following account of the battle on Mackinac Island.[22] When the Americans landed, the Indians and most of the garrison went out to waylay them. The Indians hid behind rocks and boulders on either side of the anticipated route, while the English with cannon were in the rear towards the fort to draw the Americans forward into the net or trap. While in waiting, the few whites left in the fort got alarmed, thought the Americans were approaching in their rear, and sent a messenger in great haste to notify those in front; whereupon nearly all the Indians fled to the rear, ex-

[20] Publius V. Lawson, *Winnebago County* (Chicago, 1908), i, p. 308, says that there was a village at the outlet of Rush Lake as late as 1846. According to John T. La Ronde, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 350, Caramaunee had by 1828 removed to the Baraboo River.—Ed.

[21] Maj. Andrew Hunter Holmes entered the regular army from Mississippi at the outbreak of the war, and was assigned as captain of the 24th Infantry. In March, 1814, he distinguished himself in a skirmish on the River Thames, Ontario, where he defeated a British force superior in numbers to his own. For this success he was promoted to the rank of major, and assigned to a part in the recovery of Mackinac. He was killed Aug. 4, 1814, and after the recovery of his body, buried at Detroit. The fort on the highest point of Mackinac Island was subsequently, in his honor, named Fort Holmes.—Ed.

[22] The expedition to recapture Mackinac was undertaken against the judgment of the American officers of the Western department, but it was ordered from Washington. The fleet was commanded by Commodore Sinclair; the land forces by Col. George Croghan. Landing on the west side of the island, the Americans advanced (Aug. 4, 1814), against the British who had thrown up rude fortifications. The death of Holmes threw the advance into confusion, whereupon retreat to the ships was ordered.—Ed.

pecting to encounter the Americans there; but it proved to be a false alarm.

L'Espagnol and his nephew, the Yellow Dog (Oshawwahnem),[23] remained in their places of secretion. Oshawwahnem said "Uncle, let us go with the others." "No," said L'Espagnol, "I shall remain; if you wish to go, you can; but you ought to show proper respect for your uncle by standing by him." Soon they saw the Americans approaching by the route along which they were originally expected, with the officers and a small bodyguard in front. The dress of one officer was thickly covered with silver lace, upon which the sun shone and reflected brilliantly. Supposing this to be the principal officer, the young nephew asked of his uncle the privilege of shooting him, as it would be the greatest honor. Among the Indians, it was a custom that when an uncle commanded a nephew to perform any service, however dangerous, he was in duty bound to do it with unquestioned promptitude; and in return the nephew had the right to ask any favor of his uncle, which must as readily be complied with. Hence L'Espagnol promptly acceded to Yellow Dog's request. The nephew was to fire when his uncle should set the example by firing at a plainer dressed officer, who was swinging his sword carelessly by the handle. When L'Espagnol fired, Major Holmes—for so he proved to be—with his epaulette on his shoulder, fell forward dead. His sword and cap were pitched somewhat ahead of him, and L'Espagnol had barely time to dash out, seize them, and hasten away in the rear of the rocks, with his nephew following him. The latter's gun had missed fire, so the bespangled captain escaped unhurt.

When Major Holmes fell, his negro servant ran off with his body, hiding it between a couple of boulders and throwing some leaves and stuff over him. Hence, when the Indians subsequently returned to get his scalp and searched carefully, they

[23] Dr. Draper wrote on the Ms., "It must be an error in Grignon's 'Recollections' [*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 280] that Oshawwahnem was a cousin of L'Espagnol." But Indian relationships were not carefully marked in degree—the difference between nephew and cousin might not be regarded as important. For further information concerning this chief, consult *Id.*, x, pp. 499, 500.—Ed.

failed to find it. Shortly after, the Americans sent back a flag of truce from their ships lying at anchor, asking permission to take away Major Holmes's body. This was granted and the Indians who went along with the British guard were surprised when the American party, with the "black meat" (as they termed the negro servant) for their guide, went and uncovered the concealed body within a few feet of where they had repeatedly passed in search of it. Thus L'Espagnol lost his much coveted scalp; but the exploit, and the trophies which he gave to Colonel Dickson, gave him a high reputation among his people. I myself saw in 1819 the sword and cap formerly belonging to Major Holmes, then in Dickson's possession.

The Yellow Dog must have died early, for I have no recollection of ever having seen him. L'Espagnol used to live in the Green Bay region, making his winter hunts up the Wisconsin. He was an excellent hunter and trapper, and really a peaceable and good Indian and popular with the traders. L'Espagnol was not less than six feet two inches in height, rawboned, and powerful. He could pack on his back a deer he had killed, a five-year-old buck, weighing over two hundred pounds. Saketoo, the eldest surviving son of L'Espagnol, and a younger brother, are (1877) living near Keshena.

Prairie du Chien Expedition. I have no knowledge of Colonel McKay's history prior or subsequent to the Prairie du Chien expedition. But I knew Duncan Graham, a Scotchman who married a Sioux woman. He was a small-sized man and while on a visit to Green Bay about 1830, got a power of attorney from Peter Powell, John Lawe, and some of the Grignons for British services, and went to Montreal to collect the claims; but he was never heard of afterwards.[24]

My father, who was in McKay's expedition, used to relate that the [American] gunboat was upon the river above the fort. When the British and Indians (Menominee, Winnebago, Sioux, some Chippewa, and perhaps Potawatomi) were lying around

[24] For facts in regard to the life of Duncan Graham, see *Id*, ix, pp. 299, 467. Peter Powell was employed by Graham in the Red River country, 1818–21, so that Captain William must have known him when a boy. The story of his disappearance is untrue; he died in Minnesota about 1845, at the home of his son-in-law, Alexander Faribault.—Ed.

on the flats, beleaguering the post, the gunboat floated down. Seeing the British and Indians apparently so numerous, those on board of the boat regarded the chance of maintaining the fort as hopeless, so concluded that their best course was to save themselves and boat and pass on down the river. As they passed, the [American] garrison hailed them, and even shot off their cannon at the vessel from the bastions, to make them heave to; but they passed on without stopping. Lewis From [Louis Manaigre], one of the crew or men on the gunboat, whom I later knew well, stated to me that the shot from the American cannon penetrated the stern of the vessel.

When the British first arrived and demanded a surrender the American commander refused; thereupon Colonel McKay had a furnace erected to heat balls with which to attempt to fire the fort. Seeing the gunboat had deserted them, the garrison concluded it was best to surrender, and did so just as the British had got ready to fire their hot shot. Peter Powell used to say that had the gunboat taken its place near the fort, it could have done effectual work in beating back the British and Indians, and he thought, would have saved the garrison. I have heard the Menominee speak of Colonel McKay as a brave, good leader and instance the fact that when the Americans fired their cannon, the Indians would dodge behind some protection, or fall upon the ground; but Colonel McKay himself would remain standing, erect and fearless. On the way to Prairie du Chien, there was but a short supply of salt, so the expedition had to take barrels of sugar to use in covering and preserving the fresh beef, which answered the purpose.

Boilvin,[25] the Indian agent at the Prairie, was scared half to death; he acted as British or American, as best answered his purpose. Peter Powell also related that while the negotiations were going on for the surrender at the gate, and the firing had ceased, the Indians pressed up to the outside of the pickets, when one of the Sioux peeping through a crack between the pickets, seeing an American soldier near-by called out "how-do," extending his hand. When the American thrust his hand through between the pickets, the Indian seized it with one hand,

[25] For a sketch of Nicolas Boilvin see *Id*, xix, p. 314, note 51.—Ed.

at the same time treacherously drawing his knife and cutting the soldier's hand quite to the bone before the treachery was discovered. When Colonel McKay learned the facts, he ferreted out the culprit, and punished him by degrading him to a squaw, depriving him of his gun, and putting on him a petticoat.

Rolette[26] was sent by canoe with a flag and a few men to carry dispatches to Mackinac from Colonel McKay. As they hove in sight of Mackinac, singing their songs, the people all rushed to the landing, asking for news from the expedition before they reached the shore. Rolette, excited and impressed with the importance of what had been accomplished, replied: "Oh, we've gained a great and bloody battle and victory!" when in fact scarcely any lives were lost.

The only Menominee I now recall who served in the War of 1812 and is still living, is Okamawsah, known by the whites as Louis Ducharme. He was a half-breed son of Colonel Ducharme,[27] and on going to parties used to put on his uniform. The Colonel himself was a large, dignified man, and died when quite aged, at Green Bay about 1831.

Tecumseh. From what Souligny and others related, I understand that Tecumseh never visited the Green Bay Menominee in persons; but some of his messengers did come, bringing a wampum belt or speech, urging the Menominee to join the confederacy, and they accomplished their object. Souligny and others had formed a high opinion of Tecumseh, and used to relate that they first saw the great Shawnee leader at Fort Meigs, in the spring of 1813.

Robert Dickson

I know nothing of Dickson's early life. Soon after he came out as a trader, he married a daughter of Wanoti, head chief of the Yankton band of the Sioux—a band that lived on the

[26] For Joseph Rolette see *Ibid*, p. 140, note 84.—Ed.

[27] For a brief sketch of Col. Joseph Ducharme, see *Ibid*, p. 293, note 22; his son Louis is mentioned in *Id*, xv, pp. 215–217. Dr. Draper, however, thought that reference was here made to a son of Dominique, brother of Joseph and Paul Ducharme.—Ed.

plains and prairies.[28] His oldest child, William,[29] was in 1819 about twenty-one and just married. Thus he was born about 1798, and Dickson must have formed this marriage connection about 1797. Dickson's wife was a very small woman, fair of complexion, but at forty not handsome. When we left Pembina in the spring of 1822 and went to Fort Snelling, we met Dickson, who shortly after left his children there and took his wife on a visit to England. It was said that he presented her to the king and court, where she maintained herself with much dignity.

The Indians fairly reverenced and worshipped Dickson, regarding him as a great man. He was of fine appearance, over six feet in height, a very large-sized man, in later life being somewhat corpulent, weighing over two hundred pounds. The Indians called him Mascotapah, or The Red-haired Man—sometimes Dick-e-son. He was generous to a fault, and humane. Souligny related that Dickson constantly impressed it upon the Indians not to kill and take scalps when they could take prisoners, saying that the greater warriors took and saved prisoners rather than destroyed them. I also remember having heard that Colonel Snelling entertained Colonel Dickson very courteously at Fort Snelling, in recognition of his humanity during the War of 1812–15.

Dickson used to assure the Menominee and Sioux that those who had served under the British standard should never be forgotten; that their Great Father had empowered him to say that as long as one should be alive who had thus served the king, he should not want; that their lodges should be covered with scarlet cloth.

In 1823 Dickson visited Prairie du Chien, leaving there his daughter Ellen, then a young lady grown, probably to obtain something of an education. This was the last time that I ever saw him. Ellen subsequently married Joseph R. Brown, a sergeant in the army, who was not long after discharged and went

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[28] According to Warren, "History of the Ojibwa," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 363, Wanahta, chief of the Yankton band, was a nephew of Dickson's wife. The former was a noted Sioux chief of the plains of the Red River of the North.—Ed.

[29] For a brief sketch of William Dickson, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 444, note 73.—Ed.

to live upon a farm near Fort Armstrong, on the western side of the Mississippi There I once stayed over night with him, and have since learned that he was a member of the Minnesota legislature during its territorial period, so he must have subsequently removed to Minnesota.[30]

Dickson's son Thomas was a clerk in the Indian trade, and got killed in some affray with the Sioux. The younger girl lived at Faribault. I think it was not long after this visit to Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, that the news came of Dickson's death at Drummond Island.[31]

Menominee chiefs

Among the Menominee, the White Beaver (to which Oshkosh belonged), the Wolf, the Turtle, the Crane, and the Bear were the principal clans—there were several lesser ones, such as the Turkey, etc.

Tomah was a large, fine man, much respected by whites and Indians.[32]

Souligny was fond of relating his war exploits, and rather magnified them. He was about five feet nine inches high, very stoutly built, and strong. He died about 1867 of erysipelas, nearly eighty years old, but well preserved.[33]

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[30] Maj. Joseph R. Brown was one of the most influential of the early settlers of Minnesota. Born in Maryland in 1805, he ran away at the age of fourteen and joined the United States army as a drummer. Coming with Colonel Leavenworth to Fort Snelling in 1819, he was discharged about 1825 and entered the Indian trade. Later he was a pioneer lumberman, printer, legislator, and editor, being the founder of the St. Paul *Pioneer*. He laid out the town of Stillwater, was in both the Wisconsin and Minnesota territorial legislatures, and was one of the best-known men of the region. He died in New York in 1870. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 201–212; iv, p. 41; ix, p. 179.—Ed.

[31] Dickson died at Drummond Island, July 20, 1823, aged fifty-five years.—Ed.

[32] For a brief sketch of this noted chief see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 446, note 65; a document in *Id*, xix, p. 346, proves his participation in the War of 1812–15 on the British side.—Ed.

[33] For a different date of Souligny's death see *Id*, x, p. 497—Ed.

Waupomasah, nicknamed Old Sore-Eyes, was principal chief of the Menominee at Lake Shawano. The "Admired Man" is the meaning of his name. He was out in the War of 1812, and died at Keshena about 1868, fully eighty years of age.

Iometah died about the same year that Souligny did—very aged and childish. He was a short, thickset man, about five feet eight inches, an excellent Indian in character.[34]

Poegonah, generally called Big Soldier,[35] died in 1834 or 1835 nearly ninety years of age, at the village of his name in Calumet County, on Lake Winnebago, nearly opposite the mouth of the Black Wolf. From earliest life he had gone on every war expedition with his people, and even with other tribes. Once he was out in a campaign against the Pawnee. He was the tallest man among the Menominee, fully six feet four inches, finely proportioned, and was known for his tall form by all the nations around. He always wore a conspicuous eagle feather on the top of his scalp-lock, so fitted into a small hollow upright bone, with a socket, that it would twirl about with every changing breeze. He seemed to pride himself in having his scalp-lock nicely trimmed and ornamented, as much as to say to his enemies in war, "Come and take it if you can!" But he had an abiding faith that no foe would ever possess it. He attended the treaty at Green Bay in 1828, where a drunken soldier acting as sentinel in protecting the Indian camp, recklessly ran his bayonet through Poegonah's thigh. The old chief seized the soldier, disarmed him with one hand, and grabbing him by the throat with the other, threw him to the ground, calling him a dog, and alleging that if he were an enemy, he would take his life for his insolence. Colonel Brooks, the commanding officer of the troops, had the reckless soldier whipped in the presence of the Indians.[36] Poegonah went out on the Sauk expedition in

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[34] See *Ibid*, pp. 497–499, where Dr. Draper gives some additional statements from Powell, with relation to this chief.—Ed.

[35] Compare what Augustin Grignon says of this chief in *Id*, iii, pp. 232, 294.—Ed.

[36] There was no treaty at Green Bay in 1828; Powell doubtless refers to that of 1832, which the Big Soldier signed. At that time, also, Gen. George E. Brooke of the 5th Infantry was commandant at Fort Howard.—Ed.

1832, but said that it was only child's play, although it would serve to give the young warriors some little experience. So in the skirmish near Cassville[37] he did not discharge his gun, but rushed among the combatants to show his fearlessness.

He left two sons, both large men, Sacketook and Wiskeno (or The Bird)—the former was a chief and good Indian. Both have passed away.

Grizzly Bear[38] (Kotskaunoniew), a very large, fleshy Indian, the orator of the Menominee, was smart and intelligent and prided himself on being the white man's friend. He went to Washington with Stambaugh[39] and stayed during the winter of 1830–31. On his return from this trip, where he had been shown everything grand and magnificent, he was asked what had made the most marked impression on his mind. He replied that the grandest sight he had ever witnessed was a large prairie on fire on a dark night—to see the flames jumping and running like lightning, and sending their glare and flashes to the very skies.

When on the Hudson River steamer from New York to Albany, there was quite a large party aboard. Among the number was a fashionable young lady, who expressed to the interpreter a wish to kiss Grizzly Bear, to which that warrior readily assented. When the kiss had been taken and the young lady retired, some of his friends rallied the old chief, saying that the young lady must have fallen in love with him. He replied that that was not her motive—she simply wished to have it to say that she had kissed a brave and noted Indian chief. He had clear ideas of the whites, was of a commanding appearance, and died a few years after the Sauk War, perhaps somewhat more than sixty years of age.

Pewautenot's son Waunako was a pretty smart Indian and a great speaker. He belonged to the band on Menominee River,

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[37] See *post*.—Ed.

[38] Compare Grignon's account, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 284; see also *Id*, ii, p. 434. His name in French was *Graisse d'Ours* which signifies Bears' Fat; the denomination "Grizzly" appears to be a misinterpretation—no grizzly bears having had a Wisconsin habitat.—Ed.

[39] Samuel C. Stambaugh was for a short time Indian agent at Green Bay; see *Id*, xi, p. 392; also xii, xv, *passim*.—Ed.

and has been dead several years. The present chief Keshena is his nephew.

Oshkosh[40] possessed, in a remarkable degree, a knowledge of the traditions of his people. He was a man of strong sense and died at Keshena, Shawano County, August 15, 1858. He requested his tribe, when he died, to bury him in a sitting posture, with his pipe, tobacco pouch, gun and powder-horn, and pouch, one beaver steel trap, and a rat trap, so that he might be properly equipped when he arrived in the good hunting ground.

Ahconemay, his oldest son, was to take his place as head chief of the tribe after his death, and he was so considered by the tribe, until he was suspended by the Indian agent for killing Augustin Grignon Jr.[41] Even after his suspension the tribe still regarded him, as they had his father, head chief of the tribe.

Oshkahenawniew, or The Young Man, was Oshkosh's only brother. He was small in stature, abusive and bitter in his speech. He died about 1867, and two of his sons are still living.[42]

Charley Carron is the son of Josette,[43] who was recognized by Governor Cass at the treaty at Little Butte des Morts in 1827 as the second chief of the Menominee. Charley was in my employ as clerk from 1841 until 1845, while I was trading on Fox River, two miles above Omro. When he left my employ he went and settled where Omro now is; he pre-empted the land, but sold out in 1847, and moved to Mukwa on the Wolf River.

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[40] For this chief see *Id*, iii, iv, *passim*.—Ed.

[41] This event occurred in 1861. Augustin Grignon Jr. was a half-breed son of the elder Augustin, and was employed in the fur-trade. He was killed by Oshkosh's eldest son because he refused to allow him to drink in his cabin. Ahconemay (Aconnamie) was tried and sentenced to state prison; but after a year or more he was pardoned by the governor and returned to the reservation in Shawano County.—Ed.

[42] This chief was about seven or eight years younger than Oshkosh, and took part with the Menominee in most of their activities; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, *passim*.—Ed.

[43] Charley Carron, well-educated and of fine physique, was a noted leader of the half-breeds in dare-devil exploits. See R. G. Thwaites, "History of Winnebago County," in Oshkosh *Times* for 1876.—Ed.

He was in the Indian trade at that place until 1854, when he moved to Grand Rapids. While he was in trade he had several narrow escapes from being killed by Indians; was shot at three or four times, and stabbed as many times with a knife. He has stabbed several of the Indians himself. He is still living, spending most of his time at Grand Rapids and Plover on the Wisconsin.

The Indian called The Rubber, I knew well; Augustin Grignon has correctly portrayed him.[44] He was of a boasting disposition, fond of representing himself as a hero of exploits of which no one else had any knowledge; especially claiming to have pre-eminently befriended the Americans and the American cause, when others were aiding the British. This was to gain favor in the eyes of the American military officers, in the shape of a frequent friendly dram. The Rubber was also accustomed to claim gifts from the old settlers at the Bay, on pretence that he was the owner of the territory; but the other Indians would laugh at his pretence to either the ownership of land or to prominence. He died about 1839, somewhere along the shore of Green Bay, perhaps at Grass Point, some eight or nine miles below Green Bay. It was at a time when a large number of the Indians were encamped there with the cholera, and they were prohibited from coming up to Green Bay. Dr. Crane,[45] who yet resides at Green Bay, was employed by the government to attend them, and I used to accompany him on his daily visits as interpreter. The doctor left a quantity of mustard with the Indians, with directions to put a plaster of it over the breast of any one attacked with the disease. The next day when he visited the camp, we were surprised not to see a solitary person stirring anywhere. "Are the poor fellows all dead?" we enquired of each other. But on entering the wigwams, every Indian, old and young, was found spread flat upon his back, covered with a mustard plaster. All had resorted to it, as a precaution against the dread disease, of which large

[44] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 280, 281.—Ed.

[45] The date must have been later, for Dr. C. E. Crane did not settle in Green Bay until 1846. He was born in Ohio, 1827, and died at Green Bay 1897. During the War of Secession he was surgeon for the 5th Wisconsin, and later mayor of his adopted city (1874–79).—Ed.

numbers of them had died—I think The Rubber was among them.

Most of these prominent Menominee chiefs were members of the Catholic church, and the dates of their deaths must be on record at the mission; but there is no priest there now. Maybe the Indian agents kept some record of their deaths; but I hardly think that probable.

As late as 1830, quite a number of Menominee, several chiefs among them, went to Drummond Island[46] and got British presents, guns, traps, brass kettles, ammunition, etc. Col. [George] Boyd, the American Indian agent,[47] on learning of this fact, warned the chiefs that if any of them went there again their medals would be taken away from them, and they would no longer have any claim upon the American government. This firm action on the part of the colonel had the desired effect of breaking off the British influence.

At this time [1877], the tribe numbers about 1350 souls.

Black Hawk War

In 1832, when the Sauk War broke out, [48] General Atkinson[49] sent Col. William S. Hamilton[50] with instructions to the Indian agent, Colonel Boyd, to enlist the Menominee and appoint proper commanding officers. Col. C. S. Stambaugh, who had formerly been connected with the Indian service, and then resided at Green Bay, was selected to command the Menominee, who were 480 in number, divided into companies. Augustin Grignon was captain of one, with Charles A. Grignon his son, for first-lieutenant, and George Grignon his nephew, second-lieut-

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[46] For a sketch of the British post on Drummond Island see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 146, note 94. The post was removed in 1828. For the prolonged British influence over the tribes on American soil see *Id*, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

[47] For this person see *Id*, xii, pp. 266–269.—Ed.

[48] For papers on the Green Bay contingent in the Black Hawk War, see *Id*, iii, pp. 293–295; xii, pp. 217–298.—Ed.

[49] For Gen. Henry Atkinson consult *Id*, i, ii, iv, *passim*.—Ed.

[50] A biographical sketch of William S. Hamilton is given in *Id*, xii, pp. 270, 271.—Ed.

enant. George Johnston commanded the other company, with William Powell first, and Robert Grignon second-lieutenant, while James M. Boyd, a young son of Colonel Boyd, was third-lieutenant and secretary of the company. Alexander Irwin was quartermaster.[51]

We went to Fort Winnebago by land. There Stambaugh received word from General Atkinson of the Bad Axe affair[52] and an order, since the war was now virtually ended, directing him to return to Green Bay and disband the Menominee. The latter were very desirous of going to Prairie du Chien, as they had some relatives and friends residing there, and they probably had some curiosity to go to headquarters and learn all they could about the war. So Stambaugh sent Robert Grignon and me with dispatches to meet Gen. [Winfield] Scott, who was expected at Prairie du Chien, and make known this earnest wish of the Menominee; and say that he would march in that direction. From the Blue Mounds, Grignon returned according to instructions, while I continued on alone to Prairie du Chien, where General Scott had just arrived on board of a steamboat. I delivered to him the dispatches, and he sent me back with dispatches to Stambaugh. Information had just reached General Scott at the very time I appeared, that a hostile party of Sauk and Foxes, said to be a hundred in number, were wending their way down the Mississippi by land. So General Scott concluded to gratify the Menominee and directed Stambaugh and his Indians to repair to Brunet's Ferry, at Little Rock, a few miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin,[53] and thence proceed to intercept those Sauk and Foxes. This permission gratified the Menominee. I overtook the party about

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[51] See *Ibid*, p. 278, note 1.—Ed.

[52] See *Ibid*, pp. 257–261.—Ed.

[53] Brunet's Ferry, which for many years has been in disuse, had its southern end in Grant County (section 14, range 6 west, township 6 north), and crossed the Wisconsin in a northwest direction. It was established in 1837 under license from the territorial legislature by Jean Brunet, a French-Canadian of Prairie du Chien, and was on the military road from Fort Winnebago to Fort Crawford. Probably, however, Brunet had lived at this place for some years previous to securing a license, and was in the habit of aiding travellers across the river.—Ed.

forty miles above Prairie du Chien. On reaching Brunet's Ferry, Lieutenant Boyd and I were sent to Prairie du Chien for provisions and any later news about the hostile party. Augustin Grignon is mistaken in saying that Col. William S. Hamilton had anything to do with this expedition, for he had not, and was not along.

Among the Menominee chiefs was Ahkamotte—not La Motte, as Grignon has it—selected by the Indians on this expedition as their prophet, and he held powwows every night to determine where the enemy were.

Colonel Stambaugh with a hundred warriors and six chiefs—Oshkosh, Grizzly Bear, Pewautenot, Souligny, Ahkamotte, and Poegonah—started to pursue the hostiles. They struck the trail and followed it, expecting it would lead to the river not far below the mouth of the Wisconsin; but it bore off from the river. Lieutenants Powell and Boyd, with the remainder of the Indians, some 200 in number, except those sick and sorefooted, were ordered to go direct to the Mississippi and follow its bank, to intercept the enemy should they attempt to cross that river. There were no prominent chiefs with Powell and Boyd; all had gone with Stambaugh, thinking that he would have the expected fight, and reap the honors. Each of these parties kept out spies.

About five miles back of Cassville,[54] in the interior, the next day after leaving Brunet's Ferry in pursuit, they found the enemy camped by a little stream between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. The Sauk and Foxes had had four days the start, but made slow progress, as they had to stop and hunt for their living. The hostiles would keep on the trail for a few miles, then would scatter awhile, then reunite and go on together again. Robert Grignon, Sacketook (son of Poegonah) and two others were in advance spying, and discovered the enemy in a hollow, cooking their venison. They returned and thus reported. The Indians were formed into four parties—one led by Augustin Grignon and the Prophet, with Oshkosh and Poegonah; another party by Robert Grignon; Alexander Irwin led another; and Lieut. C. A. Grignon the fourth. Captain Johns-

[54] The only other printed description of the battle of Cassville known to us, is that of Grignon in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 293–295.—Ed.

ton and Colonel Stambaugh remained with the Prophet's party —Johnston because he was somewhat advanced in years.[55]

Just before starting, about half a mile from the hostile camp, Stambaugh made a brief speech to the Indians, saying to them: "Take prisoners. Your Great Father will give you more for one prisoner than he would for a dozen scalps;" and he charged the officers to enforce this order. Grizzly Bear responded in Menominee, Charles A. Grignon interpreting: "Tell our Father here that the Great Spirit saw proper to put a switch in the hands of our Sauk and Fox enemies to chastise us last year, which they did at Prairie du Chien, killing a good many of our people. Now he has seen proper to put that same switch into our hands to-day, which I cannot prevent my young warriors from using. Tell our Father also, that since we left Green Bay we have been obedient children to all his commands; but in this matter about not taking scalps, we must be excused if we fail to regard it."

The Prophet had a large, valuable wampum belt, seven feet long and a foot and a half wide, very heavy; it must have cost fully $70, being made of stone wampum beads, alternately grey and white, from Van Dieman's Land. This was to be the reward for the first scalp to be brought to the Prophet. He also had a flute upon which he was to blow a shrill, loud whistle as a signal for the several parties to raise the war-whoop when they had taken the places assigned them, completely surrounding the enemy. When the signal was given, and the war-whoop raised, they were but a quarter of a mile from the Sauk camp, and it was but a few moments till the whole were rushing down upon them, whooping and hallooing. One of the Sauk fired, but without effect, save to hit off the breech of the gun of Saunapow, or The Ribbon. The latter quickly returned the fire, killing him, when several ran to get the scalp; but Saunapow got the main scalp, and others some smaller scalps. Then there was a race for the Prophet, but Saunapow won and received the prize belt, the Prophet keeping the scalp, and thanking the young warrior for a valuable gift. Some of the Sauk women and four or five children seeing that Robert Grignon

[55] For a brief sketch of this person see *Id*, xx.—Ed.

was a white man and approaching the nearest, ran toward him and threw themselves at his feet for protection. Among these was a young warrior, about seventeen years old, who dropped his gun, seeing the hopelessness of the unequal contest, and ran mixing in with the women, and Robert Grignon protected him. Meanwhile some of the Sauk and Foxes ran and hid behind some boulders near by, and one of these was firing from behind a boulder, about half way up the hill, when Grignon started after him, with a Menominee close beside him. The concealed Sauk fired, apparently intending to shoot the Menominee, but the bullet struck Robert Grignon, hitting a rib, and coursed around, lodging in the small of the back. About the same moment Grignon received the fire of another Indian, two buckshot entering his left shoulder. Whereupon the Menominee rushed up and shot the one who first wounded Grignon, killed him, and hacked him up, and kept at him till there was little left of him.

Among the Sauk was a Winnebago with whom some of the Menominee in Calumet had intermarried, and recognized his nationality. He held up his hands and prayed for mercy in the Winnebago language; whereupon a lame Menominee, Okeemonsah, or Little Chief, ran up, and said: "I have been many times to war, and from my lameness was always a little too late; now I will not return without a scalp; you can be no good Winnebago to be with our enemies." Thereupon he gave him a sudden stab with his spear, when he fell, and the Menominee seized his scalp lock, whereupon the Winnebago seized him by the hand on his scalp; but with the free hand Okeemonsah quickly encircled his head, gave him a kick in the back of the neck, and stripped off the scalp, and the poor victim, just after another Menominee had walked up and shot him through the head, soon expired.

Augustin Grignon, naturally very tender-hearted, walked up, and was much touched with such savage conduct; a tear was observed by Grizzly Bear to trickle down Grignon's cheek—Grizzly Bear was an uncommonly large Indian, over six feet, a brawny man, weighing fully 250 pounds. He said to Grignon, "What are you crying for? Was this fellow one of your kindred? If not, you had better go home and join the

squaws, who alone indulge in weeping." Grignon gave the old chief a lefthand blow across the mouth, replying that no brave warrior would indulge in such a horrid carnage; that he should be satisfied after having killed his foe; "now", he cried, "since you are so brave a man, resent this, and defend yourself," giving him another blow. But Grizzly Bear, though as well armed as Grignon, refrained from returning blows. Three other Indians were killed in the melee, and a small child on its mother's back was shot through the body between the shoulders, the ball lodging in the mother's clothing. She did not discover that the child was dead, or even hit, till after the affair was over.

The skirmish lasted but a few minutes—the Sauk keeping the Menominee at bay, by getting behind the rocks and boulders. Eighteen women were taken prisoners, a boy some eight years old, and three or four younger children.

Just as the affair was over, Colonel Stambaugh came up, and wished to shake hands with the chiefs. Grizzly Bear wanted to know what the colonel wanted to shake hands for—it was only a few minutes ago that they parted. Stambaugh explained, however, that he wished to do it to express his pleasure at their success; but he had no word to say about the scalps.

Boyd and I, with our party, heard the distant firing, and were approaching to take part. Between the river and the battle-ground, we met four Menominee carrying by hand Robert Grignon on a litter of a blanket stretched between two poles—meaning to watch an opportunity to get some sort of water conveyance to Prairie du Chien. My whole party then returned to Brunet's Ferry, two Indians taking Grignon up in a canoe which they got from some settler; and the young Sauk lad, who was taken prisoner, went up with them.

On the way to Brunet's Ferry, my party and Stambaugh's met and went on together, reaching Brunet's the next day. But the night after the fight, Stambaugh and party stopped at a little village where they met General Dodge and Colonel Hamilton, without soldiers, these having been disbanded after the battle of Bad Axe. They got plenty of liquor, for Dodge and Hamilton were treating the Indians freely. The latter indulged in great boasting as to who took the most scalps; by their repre-

sentation, one would have thought that a great battle had been fought, and hundreds of scalp trophies taken.

After reaching Brunet's Ferry, all the prisoners were assigned to me to convey without any guard to the fort at Prairie du Chien, seven miles distant. When about half way there, I met Wistweaw, the Blacksmith, somewhat in liquor. He was one of those who had conveyed Robert Grignon in a canoe to Prairie du Chien, and approached us begging the privilege of killing the young Sauk and taking his scalp home, so that he could say he had a war trophy—otherwise he would have nothing to relate, only cooking pork and dough-boys. But I refused, saying that the prisoners were confided to me to take and deliver at the fort. Still the Indian plead, and finally made a lunge with his knife at the young Indian who was close to me, but the latter saw the action in time to dodge the blow. Then the Blacksmith was compelled to desist, but ever afterwards he lamented his great misfortune in failing to secure that scalp.

When the news reached Prairie du Chien of the prisoners taken near Cassville, the women of the Menominee band residing at the Prairie, some of whose husbands and brothers had been killed by the Sauk and Foxes the year before, came to Brunet's Ferry, seven miles, to seek revenge. These squaws, to the number of about twenty, arranged themselves on each side of the path. When Stambaugh's party and prisoners crossed at the ferry and landed on the north side, Oshkosh in particular suggested that these Menominee women be examined to see whether they had any weapons with which they could injure the Sauk squaws. Upon search being made, several of them were found to have small tomahawks and knives concealed under their clothing. These were taken from them. But as the Sauk prisoners passed between the rows of Menominee women, the latter availed themselves of an Indian custom for each to touch the prisoners as they passed. Some barely touched them tenderly with the tips of their fingers, while others seized them by their hair and shook and jerked them about without mercy. The Sauk women were rejoiced to get off without worse treatment. They were kept in duress a short time in the garrison at Prairie du Chien, then sent down to Rock Island, and soon after discharged.

After a few days of recruiting and preparation, the Menom-

inee returned home, scattering from Butte des Morts. Robert Grignon remained some time in the hospital at Prairie du Chien. Doctor Beaumont[56] easily extracted the buckshot from his shoulder; but the ball in his back could not with safety be taken out. Grignon drew a pension of $15 per month and lived till he froze to death, near his own house, not far from Christmas, about twelve years ago.[57]

Makata Mishekakah, or the Black Falcon, was the name the Sauk and Foxes gave Col. Zachary Taylor. Ahchechawk, or the White Crane, was their name for General Scott. Black Hawk claimed that he surrendered himself, as he had heard that in case he did so, all the prisoners would be released. On reaching Prairie du Chien, Colonel Taylor brought out handcuffs to put on him. "Why do you want to put the handcuffs on me when I have given myself up and can't get away; I had expected better treatment from the Black Falcon." Taylor replied that it was not his wish to do so, and that he was sorry so to treat him; but he was himself but a small chief, and had to obey the orders of his superiors; and these were the orders of the big chief, the White Crane. Then Black Hawk said that he had supposed the Black Falcon was too humane to treat him thus; but as these were the orders of the White Crane, then do so—whereupon he extended his hands and received the handcuffs.

At the treaty at Rock Island, General Scott had Black Hawk degraded from his chieftainship and Keokuk appointed in his place. Keokuk rose and addressed Black Hawk, saying that this was not of his own seeking, that he regretted Black Hawk's degradation; but the latter had, contrary to his advice, plunged himself and people into the war, and the Great Father had taken the chieftainship from him. Then Black Hawk addressed General Scott, asking why he who had not conferred this honor upon him, could have the power to deprive him of it. Pointing

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[56] For Dr. William Beaumont see *Id*, xv, p. 397, note 4.—Ed.

[57] Robert Grignon was the eldest son of Pierre Antoine, himself the eldest of the Grignon brothers. Robert was born about 1804 at Green Bay. He early entered the fur-trade, and was a clerk for his uncles, settling first at Butte des Morts, later within the limits of Oshkosh. He died in 1864, frozen near his own home, having become bewildered in a storm.—Ed.

his finger upward, he indicated that the One who had made him a chief alone could unmake him.

Capt. William Powell

When my father returned from Hudson Bay in 1822 and left me in the care of Captain Alexander, I remained with him three years at Fort Snelling. The captain being sent on a recruiting service to St. Louis, took me with him, and during his stay there sent me to school five miles from Belle Fontaine.

I remained there until the spring of 1827, when I came to Rock Island, and stayed until the first of September, 1828, when my father sent for me and I came home to Butte des Morts. When I arrived where Portage City now is, Major Twiggs had just got there with two or three companies of United States troops to commence building the fort, which was called Fort Winnebago.[58] Twiggs was the commanding officer. Jefferson Davis[59] was also there, just from West Point; he was only second-lieutenant at that time.

Two years later, while Lieutenant Davis was stationed at Fort Winnebago, Twiggs still commanding, a powerful Kentuckian named Stewart, a carpenter by trade, dwelt there as Daniel M. Whitney's agent in transporting boats over the portage. There was a camp of Menominee Indians near the American Fur Company's store, where Pierre Paquette lived,[60] and Stewart went over one day with a tanned deer skin to get some moccasins made. It was a Sunday, and Davis happening to be there, ordered him off. Stewart intimated that he had as much right there as Davis had, and that he should go when he got ready, and not before. Davis felt his dignity insulted, and gave Stewart an unexpected and heavy blow. Stewart recovering, pitched upon Davis and gave him a severe whipping, badly bruising his face and eyes. I was then a clerk in the store, and Davis had me get a chicken, kill it, and put the fresh carcass on

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[58] See account of this event and a sketch of Twiggs in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 65–76.—Ed.

[59] On Davis at Fort Winnebago see *Ibid*, pp. 72–75; also *Id*, viii–x, xii, xiii, *passim*.—Ed.

[60] For an account of Pierre Paquette see *Id*, vii, pp. 382–385.—Ed.

his face, to prevent the bruises from leaving their discolored marks. Stewart, himself brave, was persuaded by Mr. Whitney, his employer, to leave for Green Bay, lest he should be retaliated on by Davis or his friends, and he subsequently returned to Kentucky.

Except for a short time at the Portage, I remained with my father at Butte des Morts until 1832, then went as first-lieutenant in the Black Hawk War. After the war, I returned home and went into partnership with Robert Grignon in the Indian trade. We established our trading post at Algoma in the fall of 1832, and continued at that place till the fall of 1835, when we dissolved our copartnership and I went and lived with my father until he died.

Treaties. I was appointed United States interpreter for the Menominee in 1836. The same year, Gov. Henry Dodge of Mineral Point was appointed commissioner to make a treaty with the Menominee; this was concluded September 3, 1836.[61] After the treaty I resigned and went into the Indian trade on Fox River, two miles above where Omro now is, and continued to trade there till 1846, when for a year I established a trading post at the mouth of Shawano Creek, in Shawano County. Then quitting the Indian trade, I was again appointed, in 1848, United States interpreter and in that capacity served at the treaty of that year. Medill was the commissioner on the part of the Government in that treaty, wherein the Menominee ceded all of their country that they owned in Wisconsin for $400,000. By its terms the Government gave them for their future home a tract of 500,000 acres of land on the Crow Wing River,[62] 150 to 200 miles above St. Paul. They were to remain in Wisconsin for two years after the ratification of the treaty, and then to move to the Crow Wing. At the same time the Government agreed to furnish $5,000 to defray the expenses of a delegation of nine chiefs with their head chief Oshkosh to go and examine the country, before removing in 1850.

Visit to Washington. President Taylor instructed Major Bruce, Indian agent at Green Bay, to take a delegation of chiefs

[61] Powell was sworn interpreter at the Menominee treaty of 1836.—Ed.

[62] The treaty guaranteed that there should not be less than 600,000 acres of land in the tract assigned.—Ed.

and go and survey the land alloted them on the Crow Wing, and after doing so to bring the same delegation to Washington and report. I accompanied the delegation to the Crow Wing, and with us went my old friend Charles Tullar,[63] who was employed to survey the tract. He did not, however, go on with us to Washington, as he had more important business that required him to remain at Green Bay. Arriving at Washington on September 4 we remained there some two weeks before Oshkosh with the other chiefs could get an interview with the commissioner of Indian affairs. There were at the federal capital representatives of several other tribes of Indians, who had business with their great father, the president, who had got there some days ahead of us; so we had to wait till our turn came. When the time arrived, our Wisconsin chiefs were notified that they might come and see their great father and talk over their business with him. We conducted Chief Oshkosh and the rest of the Indians to the commissioner's office at about 9 o'clock A. M. Here we were received by Chief-clerk Charles E. Mix, acting in the place of the commissioner, Mr. Lowrey, who was sick at the time. After a short talk, Mr. Mix accompanied the delegation to the office of the secretary of the interior, and from there the latter conducted his visitors to the White House. After the chiefs were seated according to rank, President Fillmore, accompanied by General Scott, entered and the chiefs were presented and shook hands with both. Chief Oshkosh recognized General Scott, for he had seen him both at Green Bay and at the treaty at Prairie du Chien. The general also recollected Oshkosh, who was a small man, standing only about five feet. When he shook hands with the general, Oshkosh said: "You are like a tall pine tree, and myself like a scrub-oak, so I stand under your branches to protect my head from harm."

The interview with their Great Father was brief. Oshkosh

[63] Charles Tullar was born in 1804 in Vermont. Coming to Green Bay in 1830, he entered the employ of Daniel Whitney and was occupied in lumbering, mining, surveying, etc. He acted as sheriff for Brown County, 1836–43. He was accustomed to say that the happiest days of his life were spent with William Powell, his close friend, surveying Indian reservations. The latter years of his life were employed as agent for the Whitney estate. He died at Green Bay Oct. 20, 1874.—Ed.

stated in a very few words that the Crow Wing country was not what it had been represented to his tribe by Commissioner Medill, who made the treaty of 1848; and that the tribe did not like to move to that country because the Indians already there were continually engaged in intertribal war. He preferred, he said, a home somewhere in Wisconsin, for the poorest region in Wisconsin was better than that of the Crow Wing. He said that the latter was a good country for the white man, for he was numerous and could protect himself from those warlike tribes; but his own tribe was small, and he wished them to live in peace for the little time they had to live.[64]

The latter part of September I started from Washington for Green Bay in charge of the delegation, and was instructed by the department to stop at the largest Eastern cities a few days and show the chiefs the principal places so as to give them an idea how numerous their white brothers were. We stayed a week in New York and went to Barnum's Museum every day. Barnum invited Oshkosh and his chiefs to come and hear the great singer Jenny Lind, but Oshkosh declined the invitation. A few of the younger chiefs went, however, but when they were asked by the other chiefs how they liked the singing, they replied that she made a very big noise and then a little noise. The white man must have a great deal more money than he needed, to pay so much to hear this lady sing.

Henry Merrell errs in giving the name of Powell, the trader at Green Lake, as William.[65] His first name was James, and he was a cousin of mine. He came to Green Bay about 1833, and engaged in the Indian trade; in 1838 he moved west of the Mississippi, into Iowa, and I have since lost track of him.

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[64] Permission was given to the Menominee to remain in Wisconsin, which was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of 1854, assigning them a reservation in Shawano County.—Ed.

[65] See *Wis Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 387.—Ed.

John B. Dubay

John B. Dubay[66] was son of a Canadian, whose name I think was Louis.[67] He came here early; his first wife was a Menominee woman, daughter of the principal chief on the Menominee River, named Pewatenot, and mentioned in Grignon's "Narrative" as serving in the War of 1812. He also had a son Louis, who was only a *voyageur*. J. B. Dubay was at least four years older than myself, certainly being born as early as 1806. When a young man, he became a successful trader among the Chippewa. When he went among the Indians, he would pitch his large markee, fit it up neatly with folding seats and a showy carpet, and invite the Indians there. Its attractive appearance would fix their attention, they would feel honored by the attention and would be quite sure to give him their trade. Dubay was known to them as Oskaatawananee, or the Flourishing Young Trader.

In the early years of the Territory and State, he was fond of going to Madison, where he spent his money freely, and would send off to borrow more. Once he borrowed of me while I was clerk in a store of the American Fur Company in which Dubay had an interest. I subsequently asked him what his business was, there. "Why," said he, "I am a *log* member"—meaning a lobby member; he liked to boast that his company at the capital included prominent lawyers, judges, and legislators.

Once I was reminding him that he had neglected to be present at a certain Chippewa treaty and secure his claim for credits to Indians. "Oh," he replied, "I shall not be too late, for the payments have not all been paid; they are to be paid," he said, "in *storn*"—meaning in installments. He had, he said, sent his *monster* (remonstrance) to the Indian department, and he would be all right. But he lost it. He was fond of trying to repeat big words, but would invariably make ridiculous work of it.

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[66] See *Ibid*, pp. 391, 400–402. This statement of Powell is an addition to and correction of Merrell's narrative concerning Dubay, and Draper's statement in a note that he was born in 1810.—Ed.

[67] The name was originally Dubée. Louis was living in Green Bay as late as 1836.—Ed.

Dubay had a fine appreciation of Indian character. He knew well how to gain the confidence and the patronage of his red brethren, and thus acquired a considerable influence over them. Had he had a good education, he would have made his mark in the world.

In killing Reynolds, he was advised by lawyers that he had rights that he should protect, and he thought he was doing only what was justifiable. But he was naturally a high-toned, generous-hearted man; and when he came to reflect that he had taken the life of a fellow man, though acquitted of criminal intent, it preyed upon his mind, and he has never since been the man he was before. He now (1877) resides above Stevens Point.

Origin and Meaning of Indian Names

Ashkeoton (town, Brown Co.)—The Crier, name of an Indian.

Assippun, or Ashippun (town, Dodge Co.)—The Raccoon.

Brulé (river, Douglas Co.)—Burnt timber; Indian word Wesaucota, in both Menominee and Chippewa.

Buffalo (lake, Marquette Co.)—Pesahkeoconnee, a great buffalo range in early times. I never saw any buffalo in Wisconsin, nor have the oldest Menominee in their day. Iometah and others used to say that their fathers killed and drove them off.

Butte des Morts (lake and town, Winnebago Co.)—Pahquatenohsah was the Indian word for Little Butte des Morts, meaning small mound of the dead. Maspahquatenoh is big mound of the dead—"noh" meaning dead.

Embarrass (river, tributary to Wolf)—Indian word was Okquinoc Saparo, or floating wood. The French adopted this and called it *La Rivière s'embarrass* (the river that is "embarrassed," or interrupted, by driftwood).

Kekoskee (town, Dodge Co.)—Of Winnebago origin.

Keshena (town, Shawano Co.)—The Scudding Cloud, named after a Menominee chief yet living, son of Josette, second chief, and son-in-law of Pewatenot.

Kewaskum (town, Washington Co.)—Name of a Menominee Indian, The Turner: one who has power as a medicine man to turn things as he pleases.

Kewaunee (county and town)—A specie of duck.

Koshkonong (town, Rock Co.)—Not Menominee; probably Potawatomi in origin.

Manitowoc (county and town)—Place of spirits.

Markesan (village, Green Lake Co.)—Probably a Winnebago word.

Maskee—Indian word for marsh.

Mazomanie (town, Dane Co.)—Place of iron deposits, a Winnebago word.

Meeme (town, Manitowoc Co.)—The Pigeon.

Menominee—thus Captain Powell spells the name. The plural is Omahnominewowk, or Wild Rice People, as they call themselves. They still harvest wild rice in Shawano Lake and other lakes above, but do not use it to the same extent as formerly.

Mishicott (town, Manitowoc Co.)—Hairy Leg.

Mukwonago, or Maquonigo (town, Waukesha Co.)—Of Potawatomi origin.

Nashotah (town, Waukesha Co.)—Twin, a Potawatomi word.

Necedah (town, Juneau Co.)—Winnebago word.

Neosho (town, Dodge Co.)—Either Winnebago or Potawatomi word.

Neshkoro (town, Marquette Co.)—Winnebago word.

Oconomowoc (county and town)—Probably Potawatomi.

Oconto (county and town)—The place of the pickerel.

Okee (town, Columbia Co.)—Winnebago word.

Ozaukee (county)—The Sauks.

Packwaukee, or Pakwaukea (town, Marquette Co.)—The Mound, a natural elevation.

Pensaukee (river and town, Oconto Co.)—The place of the brant—a species of small wild geese.

Peshtigo, properly Pasheteco (town, Marinette Co.)—Passing through the marsh.

Powaaconnee—Poygan abbreviated.

Poygan (lake, Winnebago Co.)—The threshing place (for rice).

Poynette (town, Columbia Co.)—Perhaps of Winnebago origin.

Poysippi (town, Waushara Co.)—Same as Poygan, with *sippi*, (meaning river) added.

Puckaway (lake, Green Lake Co.)—Cat Tail Flag.

Shawano (lake and county)—South; the county was named from the lake: Shawano, or South, Lake. I could not learn from the Menominee how this name was derived. Oshkosh once said to me that his ancestors told him a prophet from the South visited the Menominee, and first made his appearance at the Shawano Lake, proclaiming himself a prophet from the South; that he was going to change things generally, to reform their medical remedies and reform their government, and then they would live much longer. I am satisfied, since it has been explained to me about Tecumseh's brother the Prophet, that he was the one who came to the Menominee about 1810 and aimed at their reform; and that he was the one whom Oshkosh referred to and described.

Sheboygan (county and town)—Properly Chapewyaconnee, a Menominee word, meaning a rumbling subterranean sound, as if it were a spirit sound, heard in the lake at the mouth of the river, at that point. Solomon Juneau used to state to me that it was a Potawatomi word, and meant the place of the mermaid.

Suamico (river, Brown Co.)—Red Sand River.

Taycheedah (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—A Winnebago name.

Waucousta (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—Not a Menominee word.

Waukesha, or Waukeshoon (county and town)—Something about a fox.

Waupaca (river, county, and town)—The dawning of the morning. The French endeavored to give the meaning by calling it To-Morrow River.

Waupun (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—Day-break or dawn.

Waushara (county)—A Winnebago word.

Wautoma (town, Waushara Co.)—Not a Menominee word.

Wauseka (town, Crawford Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Welaunee (town, Winnebago Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Weyauwega (town, Waupaca Co.)—Named by Judge Doty after an Indian Weauweya, said to have lived there and claimed the country. But others said that the name of the locality came from Weyawaca, the grand encampment, as it was a noted Indian camping place. This latter seems to me most probable.

Winneconne (town, Winnebago Co.)—The place of the skull, a battleground, where some of the Sauk and Foxes were chased by the French and Menominee at the Butte des Morts battle. See *ante*, p. 150.

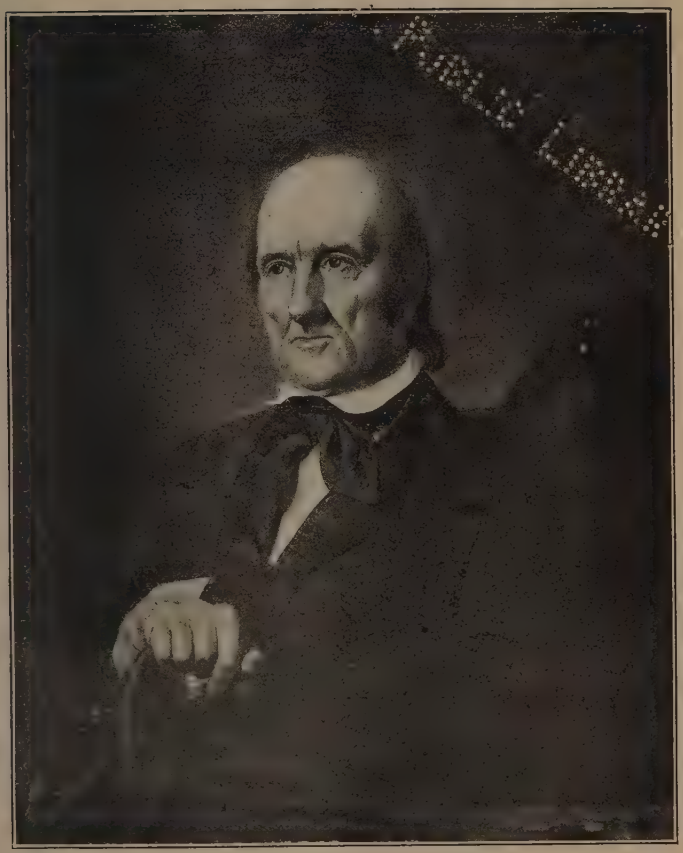
Wyocena (town, Columbia Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Pioneers and Durham Boats on Fox River

By John Wallace Arndt[1]

The site on which the present city of Green Bay is built, was in 1824 covered with a forest of many kinds of trees and much underbrush, with here and there a bit of swamp. A narrow strip of grassland, about two hundred feet in width, extended from what is now Main Street along the river shore to the slough near Doty Street. The east side of what is now Washington Street

[1] John Wallace Arndt, son of John P. Arndt, a well-known early innkeeper of Green Bay, was born at Wilkesbarre, Pa., Sept. 15, 1815. At the age of nine, John Wallace Arndt removed with his father to Green Bay, there attending school and assisting his father in transporting goods on the Fox River of Wisconsin. In 1834 he went to school in the East and was for a time at Yale College. He studied law with his brother Charles, but never was admitted to the bar, and settled in De Pere, where his homestead is still standing. In 1842 he married Mary C., daughter of Randall Wilcox. Arndt died at De Pere Jan. 12, 1897. In 1894 he published a pamphlet entitled *The Early History of Green Bay and the Fox River Valley. Personal Reminiscenses.* From this pamphlet, privately printed and now rare, we extract and greatly condense the following narrative, which has several points of excellence: its intimate account of the introduction to Wisconsin waters, in 1825, of the Durham boat, invented in 1750 by Robert Durham of Bucks County, Pa.—for further details of this craft see R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1904–07), ix, p. 323; its glimpses of several important pioneer settlers in the Fox River valley; its detailed description of the interesting old Pierre Grignon house at Green Bay; and its graphic chronicle of a typical voyage of a Durham boat from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago (Portage) and return, in 1830.—Ed.



JOHN P. ARNDT (1780–1861)

From oil portrait by Samuel M. Brookes, in possession of the Society

corresponds with the line where the woods and the grass met. This strip was a favorite camping ground for the Indians.

A man by the name of Kelso had built a small log house, which he used as a dwelling and store, on the lots where the Cook House now stands. He afterwards moved to Wrightstown. There was no other building or evidence of any, north of the slough, except the remains of a shabbily-built barn made of small, round poles, near the foot of Doty Street.

The road between Green Bay and De Pere began at the slough and followed the trend of the river, passed west of Pierre Grignon's old house, and then about twenty feet east of John P. Arndt's dwelling. It then passed to the west of Judge Lawe's place, following the bank of the river on the same track where the railroad is now, until it struck the high land below Louis Grignon's house, where it turned up into the present road, and so on to De Pere.

Destruction of an Old House

Pierre Grignon's old house stood near the intersection of Stuart and Washington streets, about two-hundred feet south of the slough, and the same distance from Fox River.[2] It fronted the west, was fifty feet square and one-and-a-half stories high, with its gables north and south. It was built of pine logs, hewn and dressed with the plane, until they lay flat 10x12 inches. In laying up this timber the workmen had nicely dovetailed each corner, making a very close joint—in fact, this was the case throughout the building, great pains having apparently been taken to do the work well.

The roof was very steep, covered with cedar bark, now nearly six inches thick. There were many layers of the cedar covering,

[2] This seems to have been the house that Pierre Grignon built, described as follows by his son Augustin in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 253: "When my father erected a new house, about 1790, he had to send to Montreal for a carpenter and mason; his house was a hewed log building, and at that time was regarded as altogether the best at Green Bay." It was probably in this house that Pierre Grignon's widow (Madame Langevin) died in 1823. See references to this place in *Id*, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

showing that it had frequently been repaired without removing the old bark.

The upper floor was supported by heavy beams, 12x14 inches in size, crossing the building east and west, four feet apart, and dressed with an inch bead worked on the lower corners. The floors were all made of two-inch pine plank, dressed, plowed, and grooved. All of the partitions were dressed in the same way, but on both sides. There were two chimneys, one on each gable, built of limestone and flush with the outside of the timbers, showing the stone from top to base. The fireplaces were high and broad, projecting well into the room, and could easily take in a four-foot log.

The first floor of the house was divided into four rooms besides a vestibule, in the following manner: A 25x30 feet room was in the southwest corner; on the east side of this large room were two bedrooms, 15x15 feet square, opening into it. The kitchen was a large room in the northeast corner, with a door opening to the east, also an inner door entering the vestibule on the west side. The main entrance to the house was through this vestibule, in the northwest corner, where also was the stairway and a door leading into the large front room. In this latter room was one of the fireplaces, also two triangular closets, one in its northeast, and the other in the southwest corner, made of pine; each with four doors, two below and two above. The two upper doors of each closet were ornamented with a carving in demi-relief, representing the royal insignia of France—the *fleur-des-lis*. How meritorious the carving was when first made, I cannot tell. It was not protected with paint or varnish; old age had dimmed its outlines and dulled its sharp relief. Yet there was enough left to show what it was intended to represent. It is a pity these doors were lost, for they never can be duplicated.

Over the main entrance of the house was a portico, which showed considerable artistic taste and skill. The windows were but few and small. The upper story was without divisions, save the supports of each rafter; there were two windows in the north gable, on each side of the chimney.

This old house with its surroundings and the farm on which it stood, plainly showed the intelligence and enterprise of the man who planned and built it. Across the road, west of the house,

stood the store, a well-constructed building, 20x30, two stories high. Nearer the river, a few rods west, were the ruins of another building, probably a storehouse. About fifty feet north of the house was a building larger than the store, built in the same style as the house, two stories high, and divided into two rooms, which undoubtedly were used for storing grain and provisions. A large square garden of about two acres southeast of the house was enclosed by a fence beginning at the southwest corner, running south on a line with the house, then turning east and north—the north fence meeting the house near its middle on the east side. The fence was seven or eight feet high, built of cedar posts eight feet apart, a rabbet being made on each side of the post, and shakes of cedar filled the space; a cap or coping was secured on top with tenon and mortise. North of the house, and on a line with the west front, was a fence similar to that of the garden and extending to the slough. In this fence and close to the house was placed a large gateway, with a smaller one on the side, through which the road passed to the barns at the east.

A few rods east of the garden was a large barn which stood with its gables north and south, nearly a hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, and eighteen or twenty feet to the plate, with three bays, two threshing floors, and four sets of double doors. It was built entirely of cedar except the roof, which was made with tamarack poles and thatched with straw. The same plan was used as in building the garden fence, only the timber was much larger; massive cedar trees were used for posts, but set farther apart, the plates and other timber used being much larger. It was an immense barn; I think it would have stored five or six hundred tons of hay, and remained standing several years after we moved here.

About a hundred feet east of the barn, and at a right angle, was the horse and cow stable, built in the same fashion as the home buildings, of hewn pine but thatched with straw. Around these buildings was the accumulation of forty years or more of rotten straw and manure, covering more than an acre and in some places four or five feet thick. It took father a long time to remove and spread it on the farm, a part of which he rented and cultivated many years. The cleared and cultivated part of the farm at that time extended from a point a little north of

Doty Street south to Judge Lawe's north line, and east to Van Buren Street and Webster Avenue.

Before we leave the old house and garden, so familiar to me in early youth, I will relate my connection with it. In 1825 father rented the garden, together with the farm, and from that time to the platting of Astor he used it for his family. Here I served my apprenticeship in gardening. The house being much out of repair, was used only at short intervals during the summer and by a worthless set, which caused some sacrilegious person to dub it the "Nunnery." Over on Duck Creek, where he spent his winters, making shingles and cutting cord wood, was a discharged soldier named Marsdon, who was married to a squaw; when a white man took a squaw to wife he took the whole family, sisters, brothers-in-law, aunts, and cousins. In summer, Marsdon and his numerous family moved to the city, the females not liking the loneliness of rural life. Without leave or license they took possession of this old house.

This sounded the knell of the once grand old house. Father purchased it with the privilege of tearing it down. My brother Charles and I, with men to help us, began the work of destruction. Our plan was first to remove the supports to the roof, as far as we thought it safe to the workmen; then we undermined the chimneys, so that when the roof fell it would carry them with it. This part of the work being done we awaited the result. The roof being covered with so many layers of cedar bark, had become rotten and porous and absorbed water like a sponge. In a few days a storm came, a regular northeaster; the wind blew and the rain poured on that devoted roof, and in the darkness of night the crash came, carrying destruction with it. The ruin was complete; nothing remained standing but a part of the outside walls.

Could these walls have spoken, they would have told of deliberate councils held within, debating the chances of peace or war, of trade and commerce. They would have told of festive scenes, the table loaded with fish, flesh, and fowl, gathered by the hunters' skill from the river, lake, and forest. They would have told, too, of music and the dance, so dear to the gay and festive Frenchmen. Thither came native chiefs and warriors; white men also, for trade and profit; others for the mere love

of exploration—men wise in council, strong in war, who led that host of savages who surprised and defeated Braddock.[3]

American Pioneers

In 1824, when father first landed on the shores of Fox River,[4] he was just forty-two years old, in full health and strength of body and mind, well equipped for the labor he wished to undertake. From the early age of eighteen years, until his father's death (in 1802) he had been connected with him in business—milling, lumbering, merchandizing, and other occupations, such as building Durham boats. The last-named industry made a large and for many years a successful business. Grandfather Arndt was a shrewd and intelligent man; he knew how to make money, how to keep and to use it. His firm took the lead in Wilkesbarre, Luzern County, Pennsylvania. After his death, his only son and heir was my father, who took full control of the business and was successful until the crisis of 1815–16, and its crash. Thus he brought with him to this region the experience of more than twenty years of business success and failure.

Father was much interested in the navigation and improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. The project was much discussed among the few leading business men—James Doty, Daniel Whitney, the two Irwin brothers, John Lawe, the Grignons, and some others. This was the beginning of the Fox River Company, to demonstrate the feasibility of freighting on the Fox River in its natural state, in a reasonable time, and at a fair profit.

In the spring of 1825 father built the first Durham boat, equipped and loaded it with a stock of goods for Fever River (now Galena), where a store was opened, The plan was to purchase lead, and transport it to Green Bay by the way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, thereby opening another outlet for the lead to the Eastern market.

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[3] Referring to the well-known tradition that Charles Langlade, father-in-law of Pierre Grignon, led the Indians in the fatal attack on Braddock in 1755—many years, however, before this house was built.—Ed.

[4] For a brief biographical sketch of John P. Arndt see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx.—Ed.

This business was put in charge of a man by the name of Abbot, a good business man, one who knew all about Durham boats. He had been in father's employ at Wilkesbarre for many years. After a year's trial the project was given up, the whole difficulty being in navigating the Wisconsin; the Fox was all right. Though the first attempt was a partial failure, nothing daunted, the boat building went on.

Treaty of Butte des Morts

In 1827 a commission was appointed, headed by Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan. The commissioners located the treaty at Little Butte des Morts, just where the Chicago & Northwestern railroad turns on the west bank to cross Lake Butte des Morts to Menasha. This had been a favorite cemetery for the Indians, but most of it has since been removed to make room for the railway. At the time of the excavations, many curiosities were found, such as stone and copper axes, arrow heads, spears or lance heads, and heaps of bones. In preparation for the treaty, there was planted on the apex of this mound a tall flag-staff, from which floated the stars-and-stripes.

The buildings for the governor and his suite were placed near the mound, while the camps of the different tribes were situated some distance from headquarters. Those natives friendly to one another were by themselves; those disposed to be quarrelsome were placed apart from the peaceful, for fear some old feud might be revived. The Indian neither forgets nor forgives.

These small native encampments presented a novel sight to the stranger, in the neatness with which they were built, and the ingenuity displayed in the use of scant material. A few small poles stuck in the ground were covered with rush mats or dressed skins, a hole being left in the top for the smoke to escape. Such wigwams were warm, comfortable, and dry. It was a unique sight, this city built almost in a day on the banks of a beautiful lake, surrounded by the primeval forest sweeping around it in a circle three or four miles deep. There were tribes from the north and south, the east and the west, speaking their various tongues and dressed each in their peculiar costumes. And in their center was the flag-staff.

Robert Irwin and my father had obtained the contract for furnishing and delivering on the treaty grounds all provisions, together with all necessary buildings, including quarters for the governor and suite, which numbered in all about eighty persons. The contractors furnished beds and bedding, chairs, tables with their crockery and glassware. The food and luxuries necessary to satisfy this motley crowd were a wonder to behold. The quantity was considerable, and in quality the best that the government money could purchase. Of liquor there was also an abundant store, both from still and press.

In securing the contract with the United States, Irwin was the political power behind the throne; but father was equipped for the business in material and appliances, and a thorough knowledge of the situation. His boats furnished the transportation, and his saw-mill the lumber for the treaty buildings. The goods and supplies were stored in his warehouse at Green Bay, and prepared for transportation to the treaty ground. In this undertaking the Durham boats were in constant use, and people wondered at the ease with which they seemed to solve the problem of navigating the Fox.

Description of the Durham Boat

The Durham boat had long been used on the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, which are somewhat similar to the Fox, being interrupted by rapids and shallow water. The boat was of simple build, carrying a large load with light draft, and passing easily through the water. Generally they were from forty-five to sixty feet in length, ten to twelve feet beam, two and one-half feet deep, drawing eighteen to twenty inches, and carrying from twenty-five to thirty tons of freight.

The bottom was constructed of 1½ inch oak plank, with one streak above the bend; above this to the gunwale, pine was used. The timbers of the frame were of oak, 3x3½ inches, steamed and bent, or worked out of natural crooks; oak beams 4x5 inches were placed athwart the boat eight or nine feet apart, and made to crown or arch four or five inches. The waist began about eight feet from the stern and extended perfectly straight to within eight feet of the bow. The sheer be-

gan at these two points, fore and aft, raising the stem and stern a few inches above the waist. The boat was sharp at both ends, which were decked over to the waist, where the walking board began, and ran the whole length of the waist. The walking board was about fourteen inches wide; combings 2x4 inches were secured to the inner side to give it strength and increase the freeboard.

For the first boats that father built, he had much trouble and expense in procuring the right kind of lumber. They required plank from twenty to thirty feet long, both pine and oak. His mill was not yet arranged to saw such long lumber, so he resorted to the whip saw. The timber was cut the proper lengths, hewn on two sides, and by the use of two men and a whip saw made into lumber. However, as the demand for boats increased, he soon remedied this lack. He built boats not only for his own use but for other parties; several for the American Fur Company, Daniel Whitney, and others. The manufacture of these craft soon grew into a large business, and gave employment to many men; it continued until the improvement of the Fox River commenced.

The steering oar was the novelty of the boat, hewn from a pine tree twenty feet long and large enough to make a blade twelve inches wide and three or four feet long. The pivotal point was about eleven feet from the end of the blade; the stock so arches to this point that when the boat was loaded the handle of the oar would be three feet above the deck. At this pivotal point a slotted mortise was made to receive a 1½ inch iron pin driven into the head of the stern post, on which to hang the oar. The oar was now put in place, dressed and thinned until it was in balance, so that it would work easily in all necessary directions. The principal propelling power was the socket pole, with a good, strong man at the other end of it. This pole was made of the best and toughest white ash fifteen feet long, 1¾ inches in its largest part, and tapering to 1½ inches at the top, on this being placed a button, to ease the pressure on the shoulder. The pocket was of iron, armed with a square steel point, well-tempered and kept sharp. The ordinary oar was seldom used, although one for each man was provided in case of need. A mast, sail, and oilcloths were a part of the outfit, beside a heavy block and tackle and a long tow-

line. Thus equipped the boat was a complete innovation at the time of its introduction on the Fox River.

The French trader with his bateau drawing over two feet of water, carrying ten or twelve tons of freight, propelled with oars or small hand poles by a crew of ten or twelve men, who stopped every three miles to smoke their pipes and rest, looked on this big boat with doubting eyes. "It is too big," "Cannot get her over the rapids," "Takes too many men," "Costs too much"—such were the criticisms. That long oar perched upon the stern gave them much trouble and anxiety. "Oh! you will soon take that thing off the stern and put two or more Frenchmen with their small handy poles there, to steer your boat." It was knowledge perfected by experience against ignorance and prejudice. The prophets failed. The Durham boat won the prize and kept it until the river was improved and the steamboat took its place.

A Trip on the Fox River

The time chosen to make this imaginary trip will be in the month of June, 1830. By that time the transportation business was well-established and systematized. We had learned the best, quickest, most economical way in which to conduct it. Our men were drilled and understood their work. I had this season been promoted to the captaincy of my first boat, with all the power, emoluments, and honors that that position gave. Although a few years later I was appointed captain of a militia company belonging to Col. Samuel Ryan's regiment, I think I was prouder of my first command than of my second. The boatmen were better drilled than the soldiers, and I knew more about running a boat than a militia company.

Let us go to John P. Arndt's warehouse, standing on Point Pleasant on the riverside fronting his dwelling, and see how the goods were prepared for transportation. As they had to be handled a number of times in transit, rolled or carried over rough and difficult places on ladders placed along the shore, it was necessary to have the packages of such weight that two or three men could handle them easily without breakage or damage, thereby saving both time and money. The freightage being paid by the hundred pounds, we paid the teamster in the

same way for hauling the goods over the portage. Therefore it became necessary to weigh each package and mark thereon the weight. They were then checked on the wagons and a receipt given of the weight of each load, to avoid any misunderstanding.

The boat is to be loaded today, so that we can make an early start tomorrow morning, thus arriving at the Grand Kaukauna landing a couple of hours before dark. Seven men compose my crew, for my boat is large and heavily loaded. Six is the ordinary crew, beside the captain or steersman. Everything is ready, cast off the lines and let her go. Each pole is quickly set, the button placed on the big muscles of the neck and shoulders, which soon become callous and give no pain.

A three-mile gait of the polemen moves the boat at each set a little more than its length, which gives, in ordinary water, a speed of over three miles an hour.

It requires as much skill and tact to handle the pole and get all there is in it of force as a propeller, as to use the oar. Notice how the men set and handle their poles—those on the left side of the boat grasp theirs with their right hand just below the button (the socket being in the water), and with a twist of the wrist and the help of the right knee the pole is thrown into the right position. The button is then brought to the shoulder and the force applied. This is done so quick and deftly that it seems like one motion. Upon reaching the stern of the walking board the poleman quickly rises, gives the pole a twist to disengage it from the bottom, and at the same time turns and grasps it with his left hand, walks to the bow and sets again. They must all set together and at the same time. The disengaged hand is always ready to grasp anything in its reach, either to increase the force of the push, or save oneself from going overboard if the pole should slip on the bottom. The skill and judgment of the steersman keep the boat parallel with the stream, and avoid a sideway motion; that would crowd the poles on one side, and be too far off on the other. When this happens the men break their hold and have to set again, which causes confusion.

While the crew are forwarding the boat, let us look at our surroundings. The sloping banks on either side, extending to higher land beyond, divided into alternate strips (woods and

THE ARNDT HOMESTEAD

The oldest house in De Pere. Built about 1836–37

cultivated land), and the French claims granted to the first settlers some years ago by the right of occupation. They are from two to five or six acres wide and extend back from the river eighty acres or more. Their owners have cleared and cultivated just enough to supply their present wants, leaving the original forest on either side. All that each Frenchman wanted was a narrow strip of land on the river front, where he could catch his fish (which he called his pork barrel), and the forest behind for wood and timber. On his cleared land he raises potatoes, wheat, oats, and other grain, while with gun and rod he supplies the rest of his provender whether of fish, flesh, or fowl.

That house which we are passing, a few rods from the river shore, is the residence of Jourdain, a blacksmith, whose shop is just north of the house. He is an old settler and a very worthy one, father-in-law of the Rev. Eleazer Williams.

Next comes John Lawe's point. The platform there erected is used to dry lyed corn, which is the food of his employees. He is one of the old settlers, one of the few influential men of this region. You can see from his dwelling, garden, parks, and outhouses how he lives in patriarchal style like the old Dutchmen on the Hudson River, a hundred and fifty years or more ago.

Here is another point, called that of Louis Grignon, on which is an old storehouse. Forty or fifty rods east, on an elevation, is his dwelling, an old house in the style of buildings built about seventy or eighty years before. He, too, is an old settler, born here and belonging to one of the oldest families. A few rods south of this dwelling, and close to the south line of the farm, is the schoolhouse—on Louis Rouse's farm, whose house is a few rods south. I went to school here for a short time, the teacher being Captain Curtis, afterwards succeeded by A. G. Ellis.[5]

The bank here takes a sudden rise, forming a steep descent from the road above to the water's edge, and covered with a heavy growth of trees and underbrush. This continues some distance up the river, where it descends to a low but narrow

[5] For documents on early schools at Green Bay, see *Id*, xii, pp. 453–465; see also Ellis's "Recollections," *Id*, vii, pp. 228–231, 234–236.—Ed.

table-land, breaking the monotony of the view and lending beauty to the scene.

Observe a house on that low bank near the river's shore. There once lived a man, owner of the neighboring farm, named Beauprey.[6] He was a trader in the olden time and died a singular death from the excessive use of green tea. He became so fond of it that he drank it night and day, and even ate the grounds. Of this excess he died, and singular to tell, his complexion changed to a deep tea-green.

The river is now widening. We are entering the suburbs of what is known as "Shanty Town." This settlement is due to a mistake on the part of a United States officer in locating the troops in the wrong place—Camp Smith. A mile or more away, to the southeast, on that higher elevation, two or three buildings still remain of the old camp. This camp started the boom of "Shanty Town," which is built on the west side of the second plateau near its brink—the shanties are of one story with a basement; all kinds of material were used in their construction, and no particular style of architecture. However, they answered the purpose for which they were built, and when no longer of use were left to time and decay. Daniel Whitney, the Irwins, and William Dickinson had built better, substantial, comfortable dwellings and stores. The glory of this inland city has gone into history. It was doomed when the order came to move the soldiers from Camp Smith.[7]

Push on. The scene is about the same, although the forest is more dense and approaches nearer to the water's edge. The river is fast widening. We are approaching the site of the oldest mission in the Northwest. The Jesuit mission of Rapides des Pères was established by Father Claude Allouez in 1669. Three or four small modern buildings mark the place where that heroic priest preached the gospel to the benighted Indians.

A new and bolder scene now presents itself. Higher and more abrupt banks reach the margin of the river, covered with a heavier growth of forest trees, dipping their pendent limbs in the fast-flowing stream. The stream is not as straight as it was below; the jutting points are more prominent and look as

[6] For a sketch of this person see *Id*, xix, p. 364, note 10.—Ed.

[7] For this episode see *Id*, xx, and references therein cited.—Ed.

though they barred the way. We turn the point, and other headlands appear, each with a beauty of its own.

The current now grows stronger; the Little Kaukauna is near. That long, narrow, low-lying island which you see to the right, is the home of the Rev. Eleazer Williams. He has a considerable tract of land west of his dwelling, given to him by the Oneida Indians, who were located here a few years ago. Here are the rapids known as Little Kaukauna, sometimes very difficult to pass. If the river is high we can push through that short canal to the right, which was a flume or waste weir. At an early date the United States built a mill here, but owing to a faulty construction of the dam, which soon gave way, it was abandoned.[8] As the river is about at the right stage, a few quick and vigorous shoves of the poles will soon take us through that quick-running mass of troubled water.

Well done, my good and gallant crew! The halfway stake is passed, and not half the day gone. Moor the boat and rest a spell while we lunch and refresh the inner man. The time is up and we proceed. The only change in the general landscape is the receding of the high bank from the river, leaving along the shore long narrow strips of low land. The same dense forest crowds to the water's edge.

Note those hieroglyphics on the oak trees that stand leaning over the water. They are made to represent a deer, and sometimes the hunter in the act of firing his gun. They record the hunter's success in the chase. There are hundreds of them all along the shores, many of them well executed and painted with vermillion. In June, when the deer are in the red, and seek the water, the Indian places a torch in the bow of his canoe with a screen behind which he hides gun in hand ready to shoot, while his companion slowly and noiselessly poles and manages the canoe. The deer is an inquisitive animal; the light attracts his attention, he approaches and falls an easy victim to the cunning of the hunter.

Here is Apple Creek, a small stream putting in from the west; the high bank on the east side is receding from the shore, showing a widening strip of low and level land. Then comes Plum Creek, quite a large stream; and there is the second house

[8] See *Id*, vii, p. 229.—Ed.

that we have seen since we left De Pere. It is occupied by Hoel S. Wright, a shrewd Yankee who keeps a store and trades with the Indians for furs and will put up any belated traveler who happens along.

Among the Rapids

We are now approaching Rapides des Croches, a difficult place to pass. Here at this short turn of the river, the water runs swift and deep over a bottom of smooth rock and large boulders, some of whose tops come near the surface and are not easily avoided. This makes the poling bad, since the poles slip on the smooth rock and the poleman is liable to be thrown overboard.

This place has a history. It was neutral ground between two hostile tribes, the Winnebago and Menominee. Here in times past they met and tried to settle their differences and to trade. The Winnebago had wild rice to exchange. This grew in great abundance along the lakes and rivers in their possession. The Menominee built bark canoes and were willing to barter these for rice and other things. The Winnebago craft were nothing but clumsy and ill-built dug-outs that did not properly serve them for the gathering of rice and fish on their large lakes, and travelling on their many rivers. The Winnebago desired to possess canoes, and I suspect that the Menominee always got the best of the bargain.

From here to the Grignon landing, the poling is much easier than below, since the current is less swift. As we ascend, the banks on either side are increasing in height. The forest still dominates the scene, and is densest on the eastern slope.

The Great Kaukauna

We are now approaching a panoramic scene of high lands clothed in primitive forest, sweeping around from north to south, then toward the western heights, then north to opposite the starting point on the eastern bank—making a circuit of seven or eight miles and enclosing one of the most beautiful and picturesque scenes on the lower Fox. Through this region of glades and meadows, gentle slopes or abrupt ascents, the river comes rolling and tumbling along from the westward

over and around the great rocks, fretting and foaming as though in anger at the obstructions it meets; but at last it turns to the north in quiet and peace, forming a lake in which in the proper season thousands of fish appear—in numbers almost equalling the leaves on the forest trees. The strong rapids above barring their way, they crowd in masses so dense that the spearsmen seldom miss their aim; hence the Indian name Kaukauna, which means enough, plenty.[9]

This part of the valley is owned in partnership by Augustin Grignon and John Lawe. The first or lower landing belongs to the former; the upper, about one and one-half miles higher, to Lawe. That cluster of buildings about a mile away northwestward sheltered by the hills, is Augustin Grignon's residence. His dwelling, outhouses, store, barns, and stables are in the olden style, and his farm is cultivated and managed in the primitive mode of the last century. Born and raised at Green Bay, he has spent all his life in the Indian trade, and in later years this has been his principal trading post. He has a beautiful place and the part he uses for the farm is under a good state of cultivation, notwithstanding the old style.

Here our agent has everything in readiness for tomorrow's portage; the men and teams will be on hand by daylight. Notice the men unloading the boat. Goods liable to be injured by rain are put in a pile by themselves and covered with oil cloths. Those not requiring such protection are placed in another pile, so that they can be hauled first by the teams and stowed in the bottom of the boat, and the other goods placed on top to keep them dry in case some accident should happen among the rocks and the boat spring a leak. In such an emergency we beach the boat, unload, and repair damages.

An Indian Village

The men have unloaded the boat, protected the piles of freight from rain, and pitched the tents. Supper is eaten before the sun goes down, and then we smoke a pipe and gaze at the beautiful scene surrounding us. Look to the east, a mile away over the moving water. See that sloping hill extending a mile

[9] Usually interpreted as "a fishing ground for pickerel."—Ed.

or so along the shore, reached at an easy angle from the beach. A distance of more than a thousand feet has been terraced and forms a succession of broad plateaus on which the Indians have built in irregular lines their huts and wigwams, utilizing every available space for the cultivation of corn, potatoes, and other vegetables. It is a typical Indian village, with its terraced farms extending in long lines along the slope, dotted at irregular intervals with their quaint and picturesque dwellings.

Let us now retire to our tent and sleep, for we have before us the greatest obstacle of the whole trip to overcome—rapids of fifteen miles, with very little slack water between.

When we reach Lake Winnebago we will be a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty feet above the level of our present night camp. This is to be overcome by the skill, brawn, and muscle of about thirty men, wading and dragging the boat by main force against a strong current that will continue most of the way. The extra men are to be obtained from that Indian village on the slope beyond. This has been their business ever since Fox River boating commenced; they have learned the method and many of them are good pilots who can take command of the boat and push her through.

Here is the dawn of another day. The cook is preparing the morning meal, the Indians are launching their canoes to cross the river, and I can hear the squeak of home-made carts as they are driven down the road from Grignon's farm. In these primitive vehicles no iron is used save the tire, and often not even that; they surely need no horn to signal their approach.

The men are preparing the boat for a start, and the teams are loading. I leave one trusty man here with the agent, who will check the goods on to the wagons and when loaded follow them to the upper landing, and then return to check and unload again. Another man cares for the remaining goods. I also send another along with the teams to guard the goods when delivered at the upper landing where they are reloaded on to the boat.

The tents are struck and put on the boat for fear we may not reach the Grand Chute before night. In that case we will have to camp, for we can not run the rapids after dark. It is but eight miles from Kaukauna to the Grand Chute. If we have an hour and a half or two hours of daylight after arriving at

the latter, we can unload and run the boat back to Kaukauna tonight. That depends on how soon the teams will haul enough freight to load the boat to suit the present stage of water. A half hour's delay here may make a difference of nearly a day in the rapids. I have directed the agent to hurry up the teams.

The boat and crew are now ready for a start. That tall, fine-looking Indian at the bow is Blacksmith[10], my pilot, and he is one of the best on the river. His only fault is that like the rest of the race, he is too fond of whiskey.

Notice how the water has here spread out, forming a small, shallow lake; but on the other side in the bight, or bend of the bay, it is much deeper. The roar of the waters as they rush down the rapids is much louder. You will soon see, as well as hear, the turmoil as they plunge down an incline of nearly forty feet in a little more than a mile.

Now comes the struggle of man with the physical forces of nature. The steering oar is unshipped; the mast is lashed across the boat to one of the beams, ten or twelve feet from the bow; the tow-line is made fast on one side, the same distance from the bow, and coiled ready for use. The men now arrange themselves around the boat. The pilot is at the bow, with his arm around the projecting point of the stem, where he has a good purchase; there are two or three behind him on either side, to assist in changing the direction of the boat; two or more are placed at the mast, where it projects beyond the boat; the rest take their positions along the sides. They have a good hold on the inner side of the walking board, to lift, push, or hold on.

The water varies in depth from about two feet to four, and the rocky bottom is very uneven. Notice how the men cross with the boat from one side of the river to the other. They do not turn and point the bow straight for the other shore. The craft must be kept parallel with the trend or course of the stream. If in a very still current, with rocks protruding here and there,

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[10] For this Indian, whose aboriginal name was Wistweaw, see *ante;* also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 399, 400. Mrs. Kinzie calls him "the most accomplished guide through the difficult passes of the river;" see her *Waubun, passim.*—Ed.

the boat should take a swing and the men lose control of it, it would either fill with water and capsize, or becoming a perfect wreck endanger the lives of the crew. The pole lashed across the bow is a great help in such cases; one man alone can do what it would take four or five to accomplish by other means.

Here the river runs north of east, and at the foot of the rapids makes a big turn to the north. We are going up on the north side of an island, formed by a small outlet on the south. The island is covered with timber, mostly red cedar.

The Stockbridge Mission

Here we are safe and sound, moored at the upper landing in a little pool or eddy formed by a wing-dam made by Augustin Grignon to run a grist-mill which for many years he used frequently. To the south you have a view of part of the Stockbridge settlement. On that interval of low-lying land between the river and the hill to the south, are several dwellings extending up and down the river for one or two miles. These belong to the Presbyterian Mission, of which the Rev. Mr. Miner has charge.[11] His dwelling, out-houses, and other necessary structures are about the centre of the tract. The situation is a pleasing one—the river in front, backed by the green hills and the towering forest, with intervening farms and dwellings.

The Stockbridges are both physically and intellectually a much finer race than the other New York Indians. They are more civilized, live more like the whites, and show less of the Indian in their character and habits. Their dwellings are better built, their farms better cultivated, and all their surroundings show more brains, thrift, and enterprise. Their farms extend about four miles, from Kaukauna to the Cedars, well banked from the river, for the frontage of the stream is much broken in places; their land is well timbered and of heavy growth.

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[11] For documents on the Stockbridge mission, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 39 ff, including the papers of the Rev. Jesse Miner.—Ed.

Re-embarking

The teams have arrived with their loads—eight of them, which means between seven and eight tons. We will hurry and unload the wagons, and in about two hours be ready to start for the Grand Chute.

We soon take the stream, the water reaching to the knees and often to the waist, as it rushes foaming past. With a death-like grip the men cling to their hold, and step by step force the boat against the swift-running current. True to his instinct, the pilot motions with his hand the direction to take, straight ahead or to the right or left, always careful to keep the boat in line with the current.

We are now passing Daniel Whitney's potashery. This is one of the enterprises that he has carried on for a number of years in places where ashes could be obtained. When the Stockbridges located here he opened a store and building an ashery induced them to save all the ashes they made, either in their dwellings, or from log heaps they burned in clearing their farms. As the timber was very heavy and mostly of hard wood, a large quantity of the best ashes were obtained and converted into potash at a good profit to Mr. Whitney and to the great benefit of the Indians.

Here for more than a mile the river is deep and the current swift and strong. The banks are broken by gulches on either side. The higher land advancing and receding at short intervals, leaves but small strips of low or meadow land, so that the location on the river bank is not as desirable and pleasant here as below Kaukauna. For this reason the Indians have built their dwellings and opened their farms back from the river. It is only now and then you catch a sight of their homes, their clearings seldom reaching the stream.

The Little Chute, a little over three miles from Kaukauna, is not a difficult point to pass—the lift of the rock is only eighteen or twenty inches, and as the river widens some the flow is lessened. At the place we pass up, the rock has been cut away, to render it more easy to pass up or down.

We are now passing a low, open glade on our right, with a high bold bank to the left, which is called the Cedars. Why it

is so called I cannot tell, for the timber is hard wood—white and black oak, of the finest growth, tall and straight.

The poling is good, although the current is strong but lessening as we progress, for the still water is near. When we pass that bold jutting point to the right we will enter a placid stream, languidly moving along as if fatigued with its struggle over the rocks above and forgetful of the obstructions below. The change is sudden from the noise and turmoil of the water as it rushes among the rocks below, to the stillness of this gentle stream as it flows with scarce a ripple on its smooth surface. As we pass along up the stream we catch the echo of rushing water tumbling from obtruding rocks, low at first but louder as we advance, until the whole scene bursts upon us of a wide, mad river falling four feet over a perpendicular rock, and then rushing on for more than a mile over hidden and protruding rocks until it is lashed into foam.

The Grand Chute

We are now approaching the Grande Roche. We will put up our poles and take to the water. This is the most difficult place on the river to pass with a loaded boat. It is similar in its formation to the Croche, only on a larger scale; the river is contracted by the west bank, forming a point, while the east shore is almost straight. The banks are abrupt and high, and as you turn the point the river spreads out into a bay towards the west, making a great curve to the Grand Chute above. The current on the east side, flowing in nearly a straight line, meets the flow from the curved line and causes a cross current that piles up the water in great confusion and makes the passage difficult. With a smooth rock bottom and great boulders strewn about, many quite near the surface, with insufficient water above them to float the boat, it requires great care to guide the craft in safety through this turmoil. As the water is deep, often reaching to the armpits, it paralyzes half the strength of the men; their only safety is to cling to the boat and inch by inch force her through the flood.

The roar of the Chute above, mingling with the noise of the fast-flowing rapids below and around, tries the strength and courage of the hardy boatmen, but they are equal to the task.

With a whoop and a rush they enter the troubled water and breast the fearful tide; the victory is soon won, the haven is near.

From here you get a front view of the whole scene—the Grand Chute, about a mile away, pouring its water over a rocky ledge. As it strikes the inclined ledge below it is beaten into a sea of foam, which like flakes of snow is carried down the stream at railroad speed. The banks around the bay are high, bold, abrupt, reaching to the water's edge, covered as usual with a heavy and thrifty growth of timber. From this camping ground a trail leads to another above the Chute, over which portages were made by the earlier navigators; it leads over the hills to the right, a long and tedious walk, but there is no other path, for the bluffs along the river shore bar the way.

Let us pass on and up, for our time is short, and we have much hard work to do before we reach our goal. We must take to the water again, for poles are useless against the strong current, and numerous protruding rocks strew the way.

To the right, where the ledge starts from that high, steep bank, is the point where we land and unload. You can see the ladders laid along the shore close under the bluff, supported on stone, to raise them above the shallow water. These ladders extend a short distance above the Chute to a landing that has been dug out of the bluff, forming a platform large enough to store the goods and pitch a tent in case of need. On this side, also, we will pass the boat over the Chute, as there is a greater flow of water here than on the other side. We now unload the boat and leave two or three men to move the freight to the upper landing and look to its safety.

The boat now being lightened, away she goes down the stream, with the swiftness of the wind. Notice how the pilot steers the boat, straight for that big boulder that seems to approach us so rapidly. As the boat nears the rock the bow is raised by the piling up of the water above it, and she gracefully glides to one side as if making her obeisance to the passing rock, the pilot at the same time moving the stern in the same direction, which brings the boat parallel with the current. Thus on we go at race-horse speed from rock to rock, the shores, banks, and trees gliding past, while it seems as if we alone stood still.

We are now approaching the still water, and will use the

oars again. The crew, to relieve the tedium of the slow passage down this stretch of dull water, give us a lively French boatman's song. They use a short, quick stroke and beat the time with their oars. The leader first sings a line of the song and repeats it; then the chorus is sung by the whole crew with a force and strength that makes the welkin ring as the echoes roll back from shore to shore.

Lay by the oars, for the rapids are near. The ripple of fast-flowing water is around us, the rocks seem again to be going up the stream, the forest flying swiftly by. We are now passing the Cedars; how quickly and smoothly we glide along!

We near the Little Chute, whose roaring we now can hear. See the foaming crest as the water plunges over the ledge. Through it we rush so quickly that ere we realize where we are the Chute is past and far astern, the crew shouting with all their might at the successful plunge we made. On we speed like a bird on the wing; the ashery is past and we hear the rumbling of Kaukauna Rapids below. Our landing is reached, and the boat rounded to with the bow up stream, ready for her second load.

Thus one day's work in the rapids is completed. We are not always so successful, but everything has been in our favor—the water at a good stage, the day long and the weather fine, with no rain to hinder us. Besides, I had the pick of the extra men, for there is no other boat in the rapids. Very low or very high water, short days, rain, and several boats on the river at the same time, combine to lengthen the time of transit and of course to increase the cost.

You and I, my reader, will not ride up on the boat to-morrow, but walk. As soon as she leaves the landing we will start, for it is only eight or nine miles on a good trail, and this will take us about three hours. You can see the lay of the land and enjoy the beautiful scenery along the banks and admire the splendid forest trees that crown the land. I will take my gun along, for we may get a partridge or two, or some other game.

We should be able to get the boat over the Grand Chute, load her and go into camp at the Grand Encampment before dark, and to-morrow reach Big Butte des Morts. We are now about half way to the Chute from Kaukauna; this is a much travelled

trail and has been used for hundreds of years by the natives of the region. See how deep the path is worn by the travel of the light-stepping savages.

Here is the lower Grand Encampment, where we were yesterday, in full view of and below the Chute. The trail turns here to the right and follows around the bay over some deep gullies. There comes the boat, just through the Grande Roche. See them breast the stream, each man doing his best, for they know that this is the last long pull to reach the Chute, and their day's work is nearly done.

To unload the boat and pull her over the Chute is a short job with the number of men and the appliances we have. While the crew are unloading, the extra men will move the balance of the freight to the upper landing. We will then be ready to pass the boat over the Chute. The purchase we use is two strong blocks, with a suitable line. The first block is hooked into the ring of the eyebolt in the stem of the boat, and the tackle is fleeted; the other block is made fast to that large tree above the Chute, which is in line with the pull. A snatch-block is also used, through which the fall is led that enables the men to stand on the shore, which gives them a better chance to pull, besides increasing the power of the purchase. Some of the rock has, for quite a space, been removed from the top of the ledge, forming an inclined plane, which increases the flow at that point, lessens the lift, and renders it much easier to ascend.

The boat is now moved out to the place of ascent, the purchase is hooked on, and we are ready. As the strain on the purchase increases, the men at the bow of the boat lift all their might. At first she moves slowly, but when she strikes the broader part of her bottom it aids the men to lift, and the blocks and tackle do the rest. Hand-over-hand, with shouts that almost drown the roar of the Chute, this noisy crew land the boat at the upper landing, which is a couple of boat-lengths above the brink of the falls.

Grand Encampment

The worst obstacle has been met and overcome. The rest of the journey is in comparison, but play. We have time to reach the upper Grand Encampment before dark. This is an

old trading post, owned by Charles Grignon, situated on a low piece of land and a mile or so above the Chute, where the early voyagers packed their goods in passing up or down the rapids. A road is now being made from Kaukauna to this point, to save the wear and tear of the boats and also to lessen the expense in money and time.

The scenery along the shores is changing. We are leaving the higher lands behind and entering a lower range of country; the flow of the stream is slow and gradually expanding; the timber is not so fine, being of a more scrubby growth than below. We will rest here on this old camp ground in peace and quiet for the night, and not trouble ourselves with the cares of to-morrow.

Breakfast being stowed away next morning, the tent is struck, the mast put in place, and we hoist the canvas and sail away over the bright water of this glorious river. We do not often have such a chance as this; but we always take it when it comes, for the poling through this stretch of the river to Lake Butte des Morts is difficult on account of the muddy, oozy bed of the stream. The poles are laid aside, and the oars are now useless; the sail is up, the boat is on the wing, and apparently by her own volition she plows a broad furrow through the limpid waters.

Little Butte des Morts

We are now entering Little Butte des Morts Lake—so named from a mound or Indian burying ground, the site of the Indian treaty of 1827. The beautiful lake, with a varied conformation of high and low lands, sweeps around in a grand circuit of several miles. On the east side, where the curve begins, are two inlets flowing from Lake Winnebago, forming a large island called Four Legs, the name of one of the principal Winnebago chiefs, who has a considerable village on the eastern end of the island.[12] These inlets are the Winnebago Rapids. The east side of the lake, as well as the island, is covered with a fine dense growth of timber of various kinds, while at the west and south, around the head of the lake, the timber is sparse and prairie land begins.

[12] For this chief see Powell's "Recollections," *ante*.—Ed.

Winnebago Rapids

Here we are at the foot of the Winnebago Rapids. Take in the sails and man the poles. The place where we stop to unload a part of our cargo is an old camp-ground, a short distance above this to the left, on Four Legs Island. I will send a man above to measure the water at the shoalest place, so that I can load the boat to suit the depth, for the depth of water she draws is marked on stem and stern. These rapids are not difficult to pass, save for the shallow places and the trouble of unloading and loading and making the two trips. This is the western branch of the rapids, where there is more water and fewer boulders than in the eastern. We will use the poles and not have to wade, unless we ground the boat on some of the shoal places; then we will have to take to the water to get her off. The water is reported at a fair stage. I will take the larger half of the load this time, choosing the lighter articles and those that will be loaded on top when we reload.

The place where we will load our boat for the last time on the lower Fox, is a point formed by Lake Winnebago on one side and a curve or bend of the river on the other, making a little cove or bay, safe from the wind. It is, and has been from olden time, a favorite camping ground of the Indians and *voyageurs* in this region—a beautiful place, with banks of moderate height covered with verdant grass, crowned by a growth of grand old trees that have given shade and shelter to the aborigines for hundreds of years. This is the point where the hardy boatman abides his time to cross the lake—a harbor of refuge from storms that at times sweep over its water.

Lake Winnebago

Here we are in good time at this beautiful camping ground. Lake Winnebago is surrounded on the north and east by a dense forest, mostly of various kinds of hard wood. Beginning at the eastern outlet, the shores gradually rise until you reach the eastern side, where the banks become bluffs on a base of limestone of considerable height. This formation continues for several miles up the lake. Then the high lands begin to recede

from the shore, and the low lands gradually widen and expand into broad prairies at the head of the lake, and on the west side as far up as the Big Butte des Morts; they extend also many miles to the south.

On the east end of Four Legs Island, you can see his village of huts, built of bark supported on poles. Some of the lodges are twenty feet long, ten feet wide, and seven or eight feet high, rounded at the top with a space for the smoke to escape. This is his summer camp; here he gathers his wild rice, plants his corn and vegetables, dries his fish, and hunts his summer game.

Four Legs is one of the principal Winnebago chiefs, and influential with his people. I first saw him in 1826, when he passed through Green Bay on his way to Drummond Island, where the British had a garrison and distributed presents to the various tribes that had been loyal to them. He was then accompanied by a suite of ten or twelve men and two or three women, and escorted by his son-in-law, a white man named Gleason, as far as Green Bay. This man Gleason[13] was a singular genius; undoubtedly he was a Yankee by birth, shrewd, cunning, always looking out for number one. He had established a trading post on the east side of Lake Puckaway, and did a fair amount of trade through the influence of his Indian father-in-law. His wife was neither comely nor interesting, either in figure, face, or motion; her walk was like that of a sailor, and their two children had the same peculiarity. Gleason explained it in this way: when he built his house, no sawed lumber was to be had for the floor, so he split the logs in halves, stripped the bark, and laid the round side up, which corrugated the floor. His wife and children walking over these puncheons, gave this peculiar motion to their gait. I have often been in the house, for our boats generally had something for Gleason in the shape of goods or provisions. He was one of father's customers, being supplied by him with goods, for which he gave furs in return—mostly coon skins and badger, these being scarce in our part of the territory.

When Four Legs returned from Drummond Island, he was fitted out with a scarlet coat adorned with gilt buttons and

[13] For Luther Gleason, said to be from Vermont, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, *passim;* also *Waubun*, pp. 54, 56, 350.—Ed.

O'-CHECK-KA, OR FOUR-LEGS

Winnebago chief, as he appeared at the Treaty of Green Bay, 1827
From colored lithograph by James Otto Lewis

lace, and was topped by a much ornamented cocked hat. Gleason, who came down while he was at the Bay, advised father to give the chief a suit and dinner, which he did. A sumptuous feast was prepared and set forth in an outhouse, and the chief and his companions enjoyed it without stint. Gleason was toast-master and dispensed the tea (the only beverage) with a princely hand befitting the son-in-law of the head-chief of a free and independent nation.

All aboard for Big Butte des Morts. To get good poling, we shall have to follow the meanderings of the various bays, which lengthens the distance, but the wind is off shore and this gives us smooth water.

How smoothly and easily the boat with her load of thirty tons moves along under the force of the poles. She makes about ninety feet at each set and rise, which will give us over thirty miles a day. It is about 130 miles from Big Butte des Morts to Fort Winnebago, but we will make it easily in four days, weather permitting.

Garlic Island marks about ten miles from the head of Winnebago Rapids; Big Butte des Morts, where we will camp, is four miles farther. This island cut quite a figure in the War of 1812, being the headquarters of Col. Robert Dickson, British agent and superintendent of the Western tribes.[14] It is a beautiful island, a few rods only from the mainland, round in form, with a small crescent-shaped bay on the land side. There are no large trees upon it, but a thrifty growth of young saplings as thick as they can grow, surrounding a cleared space of about an acre in the centre, forming a complete windbreak and shelter from every storm. It is the completest camp-ground I ever stepped on. There is a heavy growth of long tangled grass, as soft and yielding as a feather bed. I wish I might avail myself of it tonight, but we must leave this paradise of camps and push on to Big Butte des Morts.

[14] William Powell, in his "Recollections", *ante*, p. 151, states that Dickson's headquarters, the winter of 1813–14, were on the neighboring mainland. But Arndt's memory appears to be confirmed by the fact that in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 278, is a letter by Dickson, dated specifically "Garlic Island"; although others of his many letters during the winter, in the same volume, are dated merely "Winebagoe Lake" or "Lac Puant".—Ed.

Here is our camp-ground; pitch the tent, prepare and eat our evening meal, and rest until the morning star warns us of the near approach of another day.

Big Butte des Morts

Big Butte des Morts was once the site of an old Indian village. The land is high and covered with a fine growth of timber, with intervals of open grassy glades. The lake is of considerable extent, with its receding bays and jutting points, dotted here and there with islands of various forms, adding much to the beauty of the scene.

As we pass along to where the upper Fox enters this lake, I will explain our commissary department. Our staple provisions consist of salt pork, flour, beans, wild rice, tea, and sugar, supplemented by game, fish, or fowl that we gather along our way. The men all know how to cook this simple fare; the best one is chosen, however, and the others assist. The cooking is mostly done at night, soup being the favorite dish, made with wild rice or beans, pork, and other meat. The meat is put into a large camp-kettle with sufficient water, and at the right time the rice or beans which have been soaked during the day, are put in and boiled all night with a slow fire, so as not to burn or scorch. It will be ready for our breakfast and also for dinner; for supper, the meat and potatoes (if we have any) will be fried. We have tea at every meal, plenty of it, hot and well sweetened. This saves time, for all we have to do when we stop for breakfast or dinner is to boil the water for this beverage.

We always travel an hour or two before breakfast, which gives us a good appetite and the soup is then just at the right temperature. We often vary this when we get a fat deer, by roasting a part of it during the night to supplement our breakfast and dinner. For our bread, we mix flour and water to the right consistency, with salt and a little saleratus; the dough is then put into a large frying pan and turned frequently until it is hard enough to stand on its edge without bending or breaking. It is then placed on edge around the fire, supported by a board or a couple of sticks, near enough to brown it nicely and not burn; the change from side to side is frequently made, to in-

sure success and bake it through and through. All of this cooking is done neatly and with dispatch; and all the utensils used are washed, wiped, and put away in a large mess chest, ready for use after each meal.

The Upper Fox

If my reader will steer the boat for a little while, I will take the extra pole and see if another man increases the speed. Hold on, you have missed the Fox, you are going up the Wolf; you should have turned to the left. That narrow opening through the weeds and grass is the upper Fox. This is a custom established by the early navigators of the river. When the boat or canoe arrives at this point, the stranger is asked to steer. If he misses the upper Fox, and takes to the Wolf, as you have done, he pays a small forfeit to the crew. This generally is a bottle or so of wine or whiskey, deliverable on our arrival at Fort Winnebago.

Now starboard your helm and run her through that narrow gap, and we will soon see the upper Fox. The scenery at and near this entrance of the river to Lake Butte des Morts would be tame and uninteresting if it were not for the grand sweep of prairie land, seen through vistas of timberland on the east; while on the west side it is low and swampy, backed by high timbered land in the distance. The current of the river is slow, there being but thirty feet of fall from the Portage to this place, about 125 miles. It is supposed to be as crooked a navigable river as ever was made. The Indian legend of its formation is something like this:

An Indian Myth[15]

Long, long ago, soon after the beginning of things, a monstrous serpent, wise and cunning, lived in the Mississippi River. He became dissatisfied with his home and desired to visit the Great Lakes. So one day in the early spring he started on his journey. He first ascended Wisconsin River, making a great noise and commotion, throwing up sand banks and making

[15] See allusion to this myth in *Waubun*, pp. 56, 57.—Ed.

shallow places, completely changing the natural flow of the river which before this had been a beautiful running stream without obstructions. When he arrived at the Portage the water from the Wisconsin was flowing over it, in a northerly direction. The ground over which the water flowed from the Wisconsin was low and swampy, being nearly level; the water was shallow and ran very slow and spread over a large tract of country. He made his way over and through this shallow water until he struck a small stream flowing north. He plunged in and soon widened and deepened its narrow channel to accommodate his huge body and gather in the water flowing across the Portage and help him along on his journey. He worked and wormed along in many directions, seeking a better place to pass. At last, after many turns from north to south and from west to east he found the place that he thought would do. He soon cleared a space sufficiently large to suit him, and as the abundant game suited his taste he concluded to remain and enjoy himself as best he might. This place is now called Mud Lake.

He remained here during many moons, gorging himself with his favorite food, until he had consumed or driven away his supply. Hunger forced him to renew his journey. He now struck a different formation of sand, thrown up into ridges and hillocks, the drift of the glacial period. Of this he made short work, soon throwing out a long channel of considerable width and several miles in length which became a long narrow lake, called by the Indians Buffalo Lake, because the last buffalo ever seen in this part of the country was chased into it and drowned.

Here the serpent remained for some time. Buffalo and deer were plenty and he enjoyed himself right royally. The water increased and formed a large lake; a high bank, or moraine, formed a dam and held the water back. The noise and confusion he made caused the game to leave this region. Having nothing to eat, he concluded to continue his journey, broke through the opposing bank, and he and the water rushed on to the next resting place, which was but a short distance below, where another bank intervened and barred the way for a time. But exerting his tremendous strength he removed the obstruction and moved on, leaving still another lake, now called Puckaway, from its many reeds or rushes, of which the Indians

make their mats. The land to the right, or east, being high and piled up in great ridges, he concluded to change his course to a more westerly one, for in this direction the way seemed more open. He therefore changed his tactics, and instead of going through the hillocks he went around them, steering his great carcass among these obstructions until he had boxed the compass many times.

He now came to a different country, where the obstructions were more formidable, land higher, rock and stone more compact and covered with a thick growth of forest. Nothing daunted, he rushed on, throwing his whole strength into the work. He scooped out a small lake which is now called Big Butte des Morts; by forming this lake he had tapped another supply of water to help him on his way, the Wolf River. Encouraged by this he moved along with more vigor and force to greater and more herculean deeds. Another lake of greater extent was formed; here he sported, rolled, dove, and swam to his heart's content. Being wise he knew by the peculiar glimmer at times in the eastern sky that his work was nearly done, that a large body of water lay off to the east and north, that the Great Lakes were near.

He made another circuit of the lake, now called Winnebago, to find the weakest part of the barrier. He chose the northwest portion, for there the land is lower; there he made the breach and scooped out a small lake below, called now Little Butte des Morts. After remaining there a short time, he concluded to visit Lake Winnebago again and enjoy himself. After a time the desire to reach the Great Lakes returned stronger than ever. When he returned to the outlet, Winnebago Rapids, he decided that he needed more water below to help him through the rocky stratum; so at it he went and soon accomplished the task.

On rushed, with its guide, the increased flood of water, tearing and rending the solid rock and removing the superincumbent earth and thus forming the Grand Chute. On went the work of reformation. The Little Chute was reached; the Grand Kaukauna was twisted and wrenched and the afterflow was left to complete the work, while the great tide swept on, left its mark at De Pere, and passed on wasting its strength in the Great Lakes. Subsequently the great fabulous serpent was

swept over Niagara and perished ingloriously in its turbulent waters.

The Lakes of Fox River

We are moving along at our usual pace of a little over three miles an hour, gradually unwinding the crooks and turns of this serpentine river. To cheer and pass the time the bowsman as he breaks his set at the end of the push, and turns to walk to the bow, bursts forth into a merry song which breaks in echoes along the silent stream, each man marking time with his feet. In silence they reset their poles, push to the end, rise, and the whole crew break forth in a repetition of the line. Thus each line is sung to the end of the song.

Wearied of this, for a time a dead silence ensues, there being heard only the set of the poles and tramp of feet along the walking boards. Steadily they set, push, and rise, and the boat glides along over this smooth and gentle stream apparently with little effort. But here we are at our camping ground, nearly forty miles from the Butte.

Of the scenery I can say but little. It has a sameness not as pleasing as the lower Fox. Prairie and sparsely-timbered land, intermixed with the roll of the prairie on the east side, form in some places a grand spectacle. In a few places, where the river has made its way through the drift, there are bluffs of considerable height. We will try to reach Gleason's place on Lake Puckaway to-morrow, and another day and a half will put us at Fort Winnebago.

Just as the sun is rising, the boat is ready, and all are aboard. More twists and turns and points deviate our course, and within a few miles we have steered to every point of the compass. On the introduction of the larger and longer boats we were obliged to cut away many of these points, for there was not room to turn the bends. We always carry shovels and picks for this purpose, and to remove the sand-bars that form.

We will today pass an interesting point a few miles below Lake Puckaway—a hill of considerable elevation, at right angle with the river, forming a long narrow ridge, the north slope of which is an easy grade, the south side being steep. On the apex are two rows of mounds, each four of them forming a

square of seventy-five or a hundred feet. The north row begins with a mound two or three feet high; to the east is another mound in exact line, a little larger than the first, and so on as far as I traced them, each succeeding mound increasing in size. The south row was in reverse order, diminishing in size going east, while the north row diminished running west, so that the four formed a square.

Lake Puckaway is in view from this point—long, narrow, and shallow, overgrown in part with reeds and rushes, hence its name. At Gleason's place on the east side we will make a short stop, and then go on to Buffalo Lake through a narrow channel that connects the two lakes. This is difficult to pass by reason of the shallow water and the crooks and turns, but we will reach the head of Buffalo Lake to-night and camp. This lake is long and narrow with high, irregular banks, mostly of sand, especially at the foot of the lake. Our camp is at last reached after a long, weary push. We are glad to rest and sleep.

The morning opens bright and clear. Push on, all together. Here is Mud Lake; well named, for there is nearly as much mud here as water. If the Fox is the crookedest river in Wisconsin, this lake has more mud to the square foot than all the other lakes in the Territory put together. Its bottom, if it has any, is far below the reach of our longest pole. We are obliged to use our oars to cross this reservoir of mud, until we can again find water and a bottom for our poles.

The Fox turns and twists around these points and bends. We face the north, then the east, the south, and the west, and back again. But we are making progress now; there is the fort, the bends unwind, the points grow less, the river straightens, a few more shores and here is our landing. A small crowd greets us—the officers from the fort, the sutler, and a few settlers from the west side of the river. The arrival of a boat from Green Bay is quite an event for the residents of this place, who receive most of their supplies from our town.

Fort Winnebago

We will unload the boat and prepare for her passage down the river at the peep of dawn. Meanwhile the goods will

be checked and the necessary papers made out, so that there need be no delay. In preparing the boat for her return trip, a fireplace will be built of stones and turf in the middle of the craft, in which to do our cooking. Other little arrangements will also be made for our comfort, so that there will be no let or hindrance in our passage down.

The Portage, or Fort Winnebago, is not a pleasant place as compared with many other locations on the Fox. The fort is built on a bluff on the east side, a short distance from the river fronting the south. The sutler's store is situated near the bank of the stream, not far from the fort. The shops and other necessary buildings are 1200 or 1500 feet south of the fort; the grounds, as is usual with army people, are kept neat and clean. A bridge connects the two sides, just below the sutler's store.

Just above the fort the river makes a turn to the east, along the higher land on that side, leaving on the west the greater part of the low lands, or portage. On a bluff about a half mile from the river, west of and nearly opposite the fort, are situated the Indian agency and the residences of some of the original settlers. This bluff sweeps around, trending to the west, until it strikes Wisconsin River about three miles southwest of the fort, forming a portaging place between the two rivers. Boats with their cargoes are portaged here on heavy wagons made for that purpose, and when launched on Wisconsin River make their way to Prairie du Chien or St. Louis.

When in 1829 the United States rebuilt Fort Winnebago,[16] contracts for building material were given out. Father took one to make and furnish all the brick, for he had all the implements used in brick-making, besides men skilled in the business. A year or two after the visit of Lafayette to the United States, father built a small-sized Durham boat which he named "Lafayette." She was a light, easy-running craft of from fifteen to twenty tons. This boat was loaded with brick-making tools and all necessaries, and with a crew of ten or twelve men

[16] The fort was built during the autumn of 1828; Arndt refers to the erection of additional and permanent buildings in 1829. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 65–74.—Ed.

was sent to Fort Winnebago. I went along as a sort of supernumerary.

It was in early June. The boat having a light load and a large crew ascended the rapids and in a few days reached Fort Winnebago. All arrangements for the work were soon made, and the place where the brick were to be made chosen—on the Wisconsin River about a mile and a half southwest of the fort. The work was well and quickly done under the superintendence of James Stewart from Ohio, whom father had employed for the purpose. The kiln could be seen for years thereafter.

Return Voyage

Early next morning we start on our downward way. The boat, being light, glides easily and swiftly along, and turns the points with ease. When we get through these short turns and have long reaches ahead, the wind being favorable, we shall make sail and push along faster. We should reach our camp of night before last by noon, and if the wind holds good, we may anticipate a fine sail through Mud and Buffalo lakes. This will continue down the outlet, most of the way into and through Lake Puckaway, until we enter the outlet or river where it takes a short turn to the west. There we will have to use our oars, unless the wind follows us around the bend.

We have been making good progress during the night, both with oars and sail. If this wind holds good, which I hope and think it will, there will be less rowing and poling and more sailing, and tonight we shall sleep at Winnebago Rapids. It is nearly noon, and the progress we are making will take us to Big Butte des Morts by the stroke of twelve. Here we are on this beautiful lake, with "a free sheet and a following wind." Let her go free in the open sea. She is moving lively now, for the wind is stronger here and increasing. We have passed the Butte and the high lands, and the low lands are on either side. When we make and turn that point to the right, Lake Winnebago will be seen.

The wind is stronger and more steady since we left the high lands and the shelter of the forest. We will keep the boat well out in the lake, to catch all the wind there is, and have a

freer sheet, for the wind will follow somewhat the trend of the lake.

We are now on the open sea, with a fair wind. The boat is moving along like a thing of life, throwing the water from her sides as she swiftly passes through it. The day is waning, but we have time yet to reach our camp if this wind holds, for there is Garlic Island to the left and abreast of us. We are measuring off the miles at a great rate. See how quickly we reach from point to point; the last one, forming the outlet to the lake, and where we will camp, looms up and is growing nearer and more distinct every moment. Now we open the passage, and see the shores on either side. Starboard your helm, let go and haul the starboard sheet, luff. The boat turns the point and is safely moored for the night.

Arise my brave crew; one more effort on the home stretch and we will be there 'ere the sun sets. Cast off the lines, man the poles, give her to the current as it flows, and guide her straight from rock to rock. That was well done. These rapids are past, and here is Little Lake Butte des Morts. The wind is fair, hoist the sail and let her go.

Here is the Grand Encampment. Take in the sail and lower the mast, for we cannot jump the Chute and rapids with it standing; it might give us some trouble. Make everything ready and take the poles; we will push her down to the Chute, jump it, and let the swift-running water do the rest, except to guide and keep the boat parallel with the current.

Here she goes. The current has got the boat within its grasp; she is driven ahead on nearly a level keel more than a third her length before the bow dips to the incline below and makes the plunge. It is done so quickly and her motion is so rapid that you can hardly realize what has taken place before you find yourself a mile below the Chute and still going on at a railroad speed. If well done, it is grand and exciting and attended with but little danger.

We pass down, until we come to Grignon's (or the upper) landing. A little below this we strike the main rapids. The river is here contracted by an island on the east or south side. It is said that there is a fall here of nearly forty feet in a little over a mile. In one place the boat makes three tremendous plunges in succession. As she shoots along on the crest of the

wave, the bow rises as she goes; when the crest is about midship, up goes the stern and the bow plunges into the foaming water ahead, throwing the spray clear to the stern of the boat. Thus three times she rises and plunges through this tumult of water, each time increasing her speed, which is fearful to see. The last blow given to these troubled waters was more terrific than the first; it made the boat tremble from stem to stern, but she recovers and glides along to more tranquil water. Thus we pass the rapids of the Grand Kaukauna to the still water below, where we hoist the sail and pass on down to Green Bay.

The trip which I have here described was made in twelve days —nine days on the upward journey and three on the return, besides some night work, using the sail on the return journey whenever possible. The distance from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago is 160 miles, which gives us about eighteen miles a day on the upward trip, and fifty-four or fifty-five on the return, including the night work. The distance travelled on the round trip (320 miles) makes an average of nearly twenty-seven miles per day during the long days of June.

The Durham monopolizes Traffic

After its introduction, the Durham boat was in constant use on Fox River between Green Bay and Fort Winnebago, and was some times used on Wisconsin River as far as Prairie du Chien, and even to Galena. It drove the French batteaux almost entirely out of use, as it carried a larger load and required fewer men to handle it. From the year 1825 until the completion of the improvement of Fox River, it was the usual means of transportation on that river.

As the business increased, more boats were built and improved. The open uncovered space between forward and after decks was housed with a strong but light frame, covered with a double course of half-inch pine boards, securely nailed and painted, the sides enclosed with adjustable shutters of the same material, making a dry comfortable cabin for either freight or passengers. Still other changes and improvements were introduced. The larger boats when completed and fully equipped for use, cost about a thousand dollars. To save their wear and tear in the rapids, smaller ones were built, something like the batteaux but

with more beam and lower sides, whose tonnage was about a third of the larger boats and their cost much less. They were used in the rapids between Grand Kaukauna and Grand Chute, and were found to save both time and money. One set of the Durhams was used between Green Bay and Kaukauna, and another set between the Grand Chute and Fort Winnebago. The small boats were used exclusively until the road was finished, when the greater part of the goods were hauled from Kaukauna to the Chute by teams. This lessened the time in the rapids and the cost of transportation.

Three lines of boats competed for the business, so the price of the work was lowered and the profits lessened. Father could stand this competition better than those who were new in the business. He built his own boats, and in every respect was better equipped in men and material from his long experience in their use. Several parties tried the experiment of building their own boats, but did not succeed very well, for their craft proved to be too heavy and logy, being badly built.

Daniel Whitney, who had purchased several boats from father, thought he could build them cheaper himself. He found and hired a man from somewhere on the Mississippi, who said he knew all there was to know about the Durham boat. He set him to work at his ashery at the Grand Kaukauna, and began to collect the material.

Lumber was plenty and easy to get, but the iron work was another thing, especially the spike. Good blacksmiths were scarce. Father had a shop and blacksmith helper and had the blacksmithing done for his own boats. Mr. Whitney applied to him to do the work and make the spikes and bolts. The new boat builder had whittled out a pattern of a spike, about four inches long and ⅜ of an inch wide, a perfect wedge with a head on. Father at once said: "Mr. Whitney, that boat will never go up Fox River; that shaped spike will split every plank and timber in which you attempt to drive it, or if you use a bit large enough to drive without splitting it will leave a leak; and besides it will not hold the planking in their place without clinching. Your man is no boat builder, no mechanic, and your boat will be a failure."

Mr. Whitney was somewhat set in his way, and no argument

could induce him to change the shape of the spikes, so they were made as ordered and the result was as predicted.

The following spring the boat was launched after much trouble and expense. Mr. Whitney was by this time convinced that the boat was a failure as far as navigating the rapids of the upper Fox; she was too heavy, for a third more lumber was used than was necessary. She drew six or eight inches more amidship than she did before or after, besides other defects in her construction. He concluded if she would not do for the rapids and upper Fox he would take her to Navarino and make a wood and lumber raft of her. He put a big crew aboard and started down the rapids. After much time and hard work they got the boat below the Croche, but stuck her fast about half way between the Croche and Wrightstown, where she remained several weeks before they attempted to move her again. The bad construction of the boat and the hard knocks she received in going over the Grand Kaukauna, started the calking from the seams and made her leak badly. In course of time they got her to the Bay, fixed her up, and sent her to Duck Creek for a load of wood. The next morning after being loaded, she again sank, and this was, if I recollect rightly, her last trip.

The introduction of the Durham boat was a novelty to the people residing on the Fox. They declared at first that it would be an impossibility to force that big boat with its great load up and through the rapids; it would take lots of men and weeks to make the trip to the Portage. Better use the French batteau, to which they had long been accustomed. At the first trial of the boat they were dissuaded of their hereditary belief by the ease with which she passed along with her great load, and by the power and control that each man had with the shoulder, where his whole muscular strength as well as his weight could be applied. The small hand-pole used on the French batteaux had brought into play only muscles of the arms. The change of opinion was sudden. The Durham moved more easily through the water, we were not so tired when the day's work was done, even though we had shoved the big boat with a load—three times greater than that of the batteaux, more than thirty miles each day after clearing the rapids. Even on the upper Fox, because of her peculiar build she moved more easily than the batteau.

The crews were mostly made up of men born in Canada, who at an early age had enlisted in the service of the American Fur Company for a term of from five to ten years where their wages were low, and their food corn and tallow, eked out with the products of the chase. After completing their term of service, many of these men remained in the Green Bay settlement, soon married either a squaw or a woman of mixed blood, and large families were the result. The boys, as they grew to manhood, followed the pursuit of their fathers, or entered the transportation business, and made up the crews.

Recently a Prairie du Chien paper noted the death of Alexander Gardapie, an old *voyageur,* ninety years of age. He was one of the members of my favorite crew. He had been born and raised on a farm on the west side of the Fox, north of and adjoining that now owned by Isaac Dickey. Note the age at which he died, indicating the vigorous hold he had on life. This is but a sample of that once efficient crew and the men who composed it. Many of them lived to four-score years and beyond.

The Supreme Court of Wisconsin Territory[1]

By Robert George Siebecker

The act of Congress establishing the territorial government of Wisconsin, in 1836, provided for a territorial court of three judges, to whom was committed the high function of forming the system of civil courts designed by the general government, and of executing judicial power for a people who had theretofore lived in the free and unregulated state of primitive times. Under this act the president of the United States appointed Charles Dunn of Illinois,[2] David Irvin of Virginia,[3] and William C. Frazier of Pennsylvania[4] to constitute this tribunal. On July 4, 1836, the territorial government officers subscribed the oath of office at Mineral Point. The judges of this court did likewise and thus took the first step to establish courts for the infant territory of Wisconsin. The court first met to hold a session at this place, Belmont, on December of the same year. The executive and legislative departments of the territorial government had theretofore located here and legislative activities had been begun in a session commencing October 25, 1836. At this first session of the court Chief-Justice Dunn and Associate-

[1] Address delivered by Mr. Justice Siebecker of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin at the unveiling of the tablet erected by the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs on October 7, 1912, on the site of the first territorial capitol of Wisconsin at Leslie (formerly Belmont) in Lafayette County.—Ed.

[2] See estimate by Martin in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 408.—Ed.

[3] Sketched by Draper in *Id*, vi, p. 379; see also *Proceedings*, 1911, pp. 182–186.—Ed.

[4] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 127–130.—Ed.

Justice Irvin were present and participated in the formal organization of the court by appointing a clerk, administering the oath of office to Henry S. Baird as territorial attorney-general, and admitting a number of persons to practice before the court; but no litigated matter was presented. The court adjourned and designated Madison as the place where it would convene in July of the following year, and there all subsequent meetings of the court have been held. These are the few and simple annals that tell the beginnings of the judicial history of the people inhabiting the beautiful and expansive domain of our State.

Turning our view further backward to the remote beginnings of white settlement in this territory, there arises in our minds a picture of the condition of a primitive wilderness abounding in all the natural resources that are needed to supply the wants of an enlightened people, awaiting only the skillful hand of man to convert them to his beneficial use. The people who undertook this great task well knew that this could be accomplished only under a well regulated society through the orderly processes of civil government, which would protect life and person, and secure to everyone the fruits of their labors and the blessings of their homes. To aid in accomplishing this was the high function of the courts as a branch of civil government. The social conditions that then existed, practically imposed on the inhabitants the necessity of employing individual power to protect themselves in their personal and property affairs, since the situation only admitted of an imperfect administration of law among the few and widely separated inhabitants.

Prior to 1823, judicial transactions of a minor character were confined to the local courts, before justices of the peace, and obviously they were administered in an irregular and desultory manner under the prevailing crude and unorganized conditions. All civil and criminal matters of a graver nature were under the law tried in the supreme court of the territory at Detroit, Michigan. This necessarily compelled the people to forego a resort to the courts for the enforcement of legal rights, on account of the great distances and lack of highways, as well as the other hardships and cost of travel. In 1823, Congress removed these difficulties in part by providing for an additional judge for that part of Michigan Territory lying west of Lake

Michigan. James Duane Doty, then twenty-four years of age, was appointed to this office, and continued in this service until 1832, when he resigned and was succeeded by David Irvin, who remained in office until the organization of the Wisconsin territorial government in 1836.

Until 1827 the appointed places for holding this court were at Green Bay, Brown County, and at Prairie du Chien, Crawford County; but at that time a change was made from the latter place to Mineral Point, Iowa County. Little is specifically known of the conduct of judicial transactions during these years. The tradition is, that the court met the needs of the community in a practical way, under the peculiar exigencies and occasions of the time, though its procedure for enforcing its mandates as an instrumentality of justice and social order was characterized at times by novel and unusual methods. It may be problematical whether or not a regular and orderly procedure, appropriate to an old and established community, would have been suitable to an efficient enforcement of law under the conditions of those early days.

Transgressions against the security of life and limb were by force of circumstances dealt with in a summary way, in order to restrain offenders from violations of the peace and good order. Under these circumstances the power conferred by the Ordinance of 1787, to promulgate civil and criminal law, could not readily be executed, for an employment of orderly procedure in the customary ways was materially hampered and restricted by the prevailing primitive state of affairs. Nor were the territorial judges and officers supplied with means to promulgate and enforce a system of procedure such as prevailed in older states and which had been evolved under more favorable conditions.

It is manifest that this new court began its activities in an environment devoid of the influences that had shaped the law of more thickly-settled and well-governed communities. The rapid increase in population after 1830 in the mineral-producing region and in the organized counties where the public domain was open for sale and entry, brought about the need for an efficient local self government to protect the various interests growing out of new and flourishing enterprises. The territorial courts, which constituted the pioneer institutions in the

judicial history of our State, were established to meet this demand. Though the period during which they flourished was but brief, their influence gave birth to a system of courts that has maintained and promoted the peace and prosperity of the people of our State to this day.

Progress in establishing a system of law and courts appropriate to the necessities of the times was much accelerated by a rapidly-growing population and its expanding commerce and industry. As the people learned to know the possibilities of their surroundings, they framed laws which sprang from their necessities and from their aspirations for and ideals of freedom and self-government. Since their industry, commerce, and husbandry were undeveloped and engrossed their attention, it is natural that they developed a sense of responsibility pertaining to individual affairs rather than those concerned with public interests. We should therefore expect that the courts would devote their labors to protecting the private rights and interests of the people. This is manifest from their records, which show that they were principally occupied in redressing wrongs and enforcing rights of this nature. The environment and life of the people worked for simplicity and practically in the affairs of life. The spirit of actuality was potent in the administration of the law and became infused into its fabric. It was effective in suppressing useless ceremonial and conventional practices which served no useful purpose. This spirit tended to the adoption of the customs and usages of the times as the best means for the enforcement of the moral rules on a level with the people's practical ethical sense.

The ideas and practices infused into our law by these early courts has continued to mould the jurisprudence of our State and made it receptive to such changes and improvements as the progress of the people has demanded. We cannot doubt that these conditions were influential in developing the ideas and sentiments which found expression in our State constitution and our system of law and courts. Among the effective causes creating these favorable conditions was the sentiment of a common purpose, which later became operative, to promote the good of the people as a whole. This is a powerful incentive to aid in the building of a system of jurisprudence promotive of the common good. It tends to prevent the adoption of partial and

technical regulations, regardless of their fitness to serve individual and public interests, and serves to foster practical equality.

The part played by the early judges materially aided the conditions favorable to the enactment of good laws and promotive of the fortunes of our people. Inspired by their conception of natural justice, the people's enthusiasm for good government received expression by them in a liberal and practical administration of the law. That these influences were an effective agency, influencing their judicial action, is shown with remarkable clearness and force as we study the course of the events that resulted in the formation of the people's institutions and laws. It promoted the spirit for improvement in legal procedure, culminated in the adoption of our code at an early day in the history of our State, and led to many reforms which simplified the law and accommodated it to the actual needs for a practical regulation of affairs, thereby developing among the people a respect for law which has been most potent in inspiring faith in their government as an agency under which they might secure the blessings of liberty and enjoy the fruits of their toil.

I rejoice that the power of this influence is not spent and that it operates today among our people to maintain a respect for government and to check the disdain for law and order which breeds the spirit that incites men to destroy their most beneficent institutions. It helps to keep before us the ideal of a system of laws which will further our best interests and protect us in the things we cherish as most sacred in life.

The achievements of our pioneer courts are an assurance that the judges composing them were men of probity and intelligence and of original and constructive thought. Of the three original appointees, Judge Frazier died October 18, 1838. It is said of him: "His career in Wisconsin was so brief and unimportant that but little is now remembered of it beyond the anecdotes found in the published *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society, except that which is in a great degree traditional." Andrew G. Miller of Pennsylvania was appointed his successor.[5] As so constituted, these appointees held office until the organization of the State government in 1848. The history of their

[5] For a biographical sketch see *Id*, vii, p. 463.—Ed.

services shows that they were men of high judicial integrity and that they were impelled by an earnest fidelity and zeal to administer exact and equal justice. Their strong natural abilities and large capacities had been improved by training and culture. They fitted well into a generation in the legal profession when men stood on the solid ground of their individual power, and they were characterized by resolution and forcefulness. In their knowledge of men and things they were broad, and they dealt considerately with every class of the people in all their varying relations and interests. A knowledge of the wide range of affairs and conditions of their day, coupled with their professional learning, enlarged their views of life and cultivated in them the sagacity of men of the world. They stood in high esteem with members of the legal profession and the people, for their social virtues and for their devotion to a faithful discharge of their high official duties. Their lives and work justify the belief that they did much to promote the highest good of the people of this State, and as pioneers of civilization in this great Northwest contributed much to the wholesome influences that impart a respect for law and government.

House Miscellaneous Papers in the Library of Congress

By Asa Currier Tilton

The report of the Librarian of Congress for 1910 records the acquisition of a selection from miscellaneous papers of the House of Representatives of the United States under a resolution of March 5, 1910.[1] These papers number some five hundred items, chiefly bundles of ordinary file form and size. Their miscellaneous character and the inaccessibility of the mass of the papers which are still in the possession of the House, give interest to a description of this selection in the Library of Congress, which is typical of the value of those still in the capitol and, to some degree at least, of their character and subject matter. They were arranged and listed by the writer of these notes, while special assistant in the Manuscripts Division; his comments are based, therefore, on an actual handling and examination of all the papers.[2] The field covered by them is as wide and varied as that of the activities of the House and the federal government, and even wider. No attempt at a classified description of them will here be made, for these notes are intended merely to suggest their scope, value, and most striking groups.

The question of first interest and consequence concerning any such body of manuscripts is, it need hardly be said, as to the

[1] The phrase "selected House papers", in these notes invariably refers to this collection in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. The writer desires cordially to acknowledge the assistance which he received in the preparation of these notes from Mr. Gaillard Hunt, the chief of that division.

[2] Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick began this work, but unfortunately was prevented by other duties from carrying it far.

amount of unprinted material which it contains. It must at once be admitted that in the case of the selected House papers no satisfactory and definite answer to this question can be given. Until those in the Capitol shall be arranged and listed, we must be content with impressions. It would be venturesome to assume that this amount varies chronologically; but there seem to be more unprinted papers of noticeable interest in earlier than in later years. Illustrations appear below, of the fact that the official House date is no criterion of the date of historical interest of a document and its accompanying papers.

State papers and other important documents of the president, departments, and committees are, of course, in print. This is, also, usually but not invariably the case when the contents are of less moment. All printed copies of bills must be credited with manuscript value. Those enacted are in print as laws; but laws are not bills when we are tracing the progress of legislation, whether of itself or as the expression of a great national movement, like that on the tariff in 1828 or on Kansas–Nebraska in 1854. Printed bills and amendments are of manuscript rarity, especially in earlier years.

No one at all conversant with public documents would be so rash as to say that the contents of a House manuscript of a certain Congress were not printed, on the basis of an examination of the volumes of House documents and reports for that Congress alone. This increases the difficulty of estimating the proportion of printed and manuscript material in these papers.

The writer may say that his work on the selected House papers was done after several years' experience in the care and use of public documents, and that every evidence and impression during the progress of the work indicated the existence in the collection of more unprinted material than he had anticipated from his previous acquaintance with the printed documents of the United States.

Of next consequence to the proportion of unprinted material, is the question whether the manuscripts among the selected House papers which are in print have an appreciated value due to inaccuracies in printing. If so, they are of manuscript rank. The tests which were made show quite clearly that they do have such an appreciated value. It should be remarked, however, that as a rule the appreciation will be effective only in investi-

gations where textual accuracy is essential and vital. The following collations illustrate these statements.

When the death of Washington was announced, Congress passed a resolution, December 23, 1799, directing the president to extend to Mrs. Washington the sympathy and condolence of the government and the nation, and to ask her to permit his burial in the Capitol. She replied in an autograph letter, dated at Mt. Vernon, December 31. This is printed in the House *Journal* and in the *Annals* for January 8, 1800. The *Journal* (reprint) changes "the great example" to "that great example"; the *Annals* print the text of the letter correctly, but omit the date. As usual in the collations made for these notes, the printed texts differ from the manuscript in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, etc. These variations have not in any case been recorded; they are rarely of consequence, and often the condition of the copy compelled the printer to follow his own rules and judgment.

The requirement in the admission of a new State that its constitution be approved by federal authority, has brought to the House files certified copies in manuscript or print of proposed constitutions. Examples among the selected House papers are:

A manuscript copy of the Missouri constitution of 1820, and printed copies of the Indiana constitution of 1816 and the Illinois constitution of 1818. Collations in the Illinois constitution show that the text printed in the House documents is in the main accurate: but in one instance "his" is printed for "the", and some of the variations in punctuation, etc., which seem inexcusable when following the official printed copy, come dangerously near altering the meaning of some sentences.

In 1814 Gen. Alexander Smith sent to the speaker of the House a letter and accompanying papers relating to his conduct of operations on the Niagara frontier in 1812–13; they are printed in *American State Papers, Military Affairs,* vol. 1, pp. 490 ff. Collations showed no printer's errors of consequence, but some changes of words were noted.

In 1790 the War Department sent to the House a document containing the returns of troops furnished by the several States during the Revolutionary War. It is printed *Ibid,* pp. 14 ff.

In the returns for 1778 the total for New York is given both in the manuscript and printed text as 2,190, but addition of the items makes the total 2,194. For New Jersey the total is given correctly in the manuscript as 1,586, but in the printed text as 1,580. A similar misprint appears in the Virginia returns. In the returns for 1779 the grand total is given both in the manuscript and printed text as 41,584; addition of the items gives 45,184. Other tests did not disclose errors, but complete collation was not made. The burden of error seems, in this instance, to rest on the manuscript rather than the printed text.

On Jan. 18, 1837, the House ordered that papers presented to it, which related in any way to slavery, should lie on the table without printing, reference, or other action. This is the so-called "gag rule", against which John Quincy Adams waged his famous fight for the right of petition. On February 6 Mr. Adams rose and stated that he held a paper which purported to be from slaves and asked the chair to inform him whether it came under the order of January 18. A bitter contest ensued, in which the proceedings and debates centered on an attempt to censure Mr. Adams. The manuscripts of the resolutions of censure moved on February 6 and 7 are among the selected House papers. At this time both the *Congressional Debates* and the *Congressional Globe* were being printed, as well as the *Journal*. The importance of the incident, the character of the proceedings, and the existence of three official printed texts combine to furnish an unusual opportunity for collation.

The first resolutions were moved by Mr. Thompson of South Carolina, and were followed by a substitute amendment, moved by Mr. Haynes. No variations of importance between the manuscript and the printed texts were found in either. In the modification moved by Mr. Lewis, however, the manuscript reads, "petition from slaves." The *Journal* and *Debates* print correctly, but the *Globe* has "of slaves." The manuscript also reads, "directly incites the slave population to insurrection"; this is correctly printed in the *Journal* and *Globe*, but the *Debates* have "invites."

Mr. Thompson's final modification on the 6th shows similar discrepancies. In resolution 2 the manuscript reads, "leaving the House under that impression," which the *Journal* prints correctly; but the *Globe* has "such impression", and the *De-*

bates have "showing the House". In resolution 3 the manuscript has either "Hon." or "said" before Mr. Adams's name; one word has been written over the other and it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell which is final. The *Journal* prints "said", the *Globe* "Hon.", and the *Debates* "honorable". On February 7 Mr. Dromgoole suggested a modification; here manuscript and texts agree.

With Mr. Bynum's amendment the case is quite different. In resolution 1 the manuscript reads:

"That an attempt to present any petition or memorial to this house from any slave or slaves negro or free negro from any part of this union is a contempt of this house & calculated to embroil it in of [sic], strife & confusion incompatible with the dignity of the body, & any member guilty of the same, justly subjects himself to the strictest censure of the house."

All printed texts omit the superfluous "of." The *Journal* prints the resolution correctly except that it has "or any member"; the *Globe* and *Debates* print as follows:

"That an attempt to present any petition or memorial from any slave or slaves, or free negro, from any part of the Union, is a contempt of the House, and calculated to embroil it in a strife and confusion incompatible with the dignity of the body; and that any member guilty of the same, justly subjects himself to the censure of the House."

In resolution 2 the manuscript reads:

"Resolved Farther that a committee of [sic] be appointed to enquire into the fact whether such attempt has or has not been committed by any member of this house & report the same as soon as practicable."

All printed texts omit the superfluous "of"—which, it may be added, comes at the end of a line and suggests an intention of fixing the number of members of the committee. The *Journal* changes "farther" to "further", but otherwise follows the manuscript. The *Globe* and *Debates* print:

"Resolved, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the fact whether any such attempt has been made by any member of this House and report the same to the House as soon as practicable."

This amendment by Mr. Bynum was subjected to an amendment introduced by Mr. Patton. In this, again, collation re-

veals decided variations in the printed texts. In resolution 1 the manuscript had the words, "Resolved, That"; but they were crossed out after being written, as they survive from the resolutions under amendment. The *Journal* properly omits them, but they are retained by the *Globe* and *Debates,* which, moreover, omit "and" after "Union."

In resolution 2 the manuscript reads:

"Resolved that any member who shall hereafter present any such petition to this House ought to be considered as regardless of the feelings of the house, the rights of the south, and an enemy to the Union."

The *Globe* and *Debates* print "every member", and "this" before House (second occurrence); otherwise they follow the manuscript accurately. The *Journal* has "the" before House (first occurrence); and it omits "of the house, the rights", so as to make the resolution read, "feelings of the south and an enemy to the Union."

In the resolution 3 the manuscript reads "disclaimed all design of doing anything disrespectful to the House." The *Journal* prints "designs", and the *Globe* and *Debates* "a design". The manuscript further reads, "as to the petition purporting to be from slaves". The *Journal* and *Debates* print correctly; but the *Globe* has, "as to the right of petition purporting to be from slaves." Finally, the manuscript reads, "all further proceedings in regard to his conduct now cease." The *Journal* prints this correctly; but the *Globe* and *Debates* have, "as to his conduct."

The censure was finally disposed of on the 9th by an adverse vote on resolutions moved by Mr. Bynum in modification of his former resolutions. No manuscript of these is present among the selected House papers, hence it is impossible to test the accuracy of the printed texts. If we assume their correctness, a comparison with the printed texts of the preceding resolutions above, might give a wholly false notion concerning the modification of his earlier resolutions.

These resolutions are the hills and forts around which was waged a fierce parliamentary battle. Keen minds were contending over the words and phrases of an enactment of parliamentary law. Historical treatment of such an incident demands accuracy of source texts, just as scientific historical de-

scription of a military battle or campaign demands accurate topographical maps as a basis for its narrative and conclusions. Yet no one of the official printed texts of the censure resolutions approaches accuracy, and the *Journal,* supposedly the authoritative and final version, contains the most serious of all the printer's errors. In this case the manuscripts have an appreciated value, which we are prone to deny to those about 1837 and admit only in those of a thousand years or so earlier.[3]

Record of one more collation will be given, and from a document thirty years younger than those just considered. On July 20, 1867, President Johnson sent a message to the House in response to a resolution of July 8 which asked whether the newspaper accounts of a cabinet meeting, at which an interpretation of the reconstruction acts was decided on, were authoritative and complete. The manuscript of the message was collated with the printed texts in the *Journal, Globe, House Executive Document no. 34* (40th Cong., 1 sess.), and Richardson's *Messages and Papers.* The accompanying minutes and orders were not collated.

The message first relates the resolution in summary and indirect quotation, and the manuscript properly uses no quotation marks. Document no. 34 correctly omits them; but they are inserted in the other printed texts. The manuscript reads "a publication"; Document no. 34 agrees, but the other texts substitute "the". The manuscript reads "21st day of June last." Document no. 34 agrees; but the other texts omit "day." The manuscript reads "the President and the Cabinet." Document no. 34 and the *Globe* print correctly; but the *Journal* and Richardson omit "the" before "Cabinet". The manuscript quotes the resolution—correctly, according to the *Journal* and *Globe* of July 8—thus, "or with his knowledge or assent." Document no. 34 agrees; but the other texts have, "and consent." The manuscript reads, "opinion of the heads of the several Executive Departments." Document no. 34 prints correctly; but the other texts have "opinions." The

[3] Some differences between manuscript and text may, naturally, be due to changes made in proof; but such variations would be quite different from those shown in these collations.

manuscript reads, "from those acts." Document no. 34 agrees; but the other texts print "these."

None of the variations listed are, perhaps, of consequence; yet no careful editor of historical documents would be willing to allow such errors on his pages. It will be noted that Document no. 34 gives the most accurate text of Johnson's message. Throughout the selected House papers there is abundant evidence of the use of original manuscripts as printer's copy for the reports and documents of Congress. Other texts, as in the *Journal, Globe,* etc., would seem to be taken from the printed report or document with corresponding increase in liability of error.

Several other messages from President Johnson were collated with Richardson's text and showed more accurate printing than that of the message of July 20, 1867. Lack of time prevented a collation of the records of the Johnson impeachment trial among the selected House papers—a promising field for such an investigation.

Manuscripts which have been printed may also have an appreciated value because they are drafts or copies in which corrections and changes have been made. Such detail may sometimes be of consequence in tracing the development of a report or bill, and occasionally, perhaps, in showing the variations and development of opinion and feeling on measures and policies, both in Congress and the country.

The manuscripts of the Adams censure resolutions furnish some illustrations. In Mr. Lewis's modification the manuscript shows that, "directly incites to insurrection amongst the slave population" was first written and then changed to, "directly incites the slave population to insurrection." This and similar revisions show the clarification of the ideas of the supporters of the censure into clear, exact, and forceful expression.

In 1832 the inhabitants of Michigan Territory residing west of Lake Michigan, the later Wisconsin, sent a petition to Congress on various matters of local importance. One concerned a separate territorial government for the region. In setting forth reasons for this request, the estimated population is stated to be seven thousand. The manuscript, however, shows that "seven" is written over an erasure in a hand different from that of the

rest of the text. Examination also discloses the fact that the word erased began with "f" which fixes it at either "four" or "five"—the space is not sufficient to allow "fifteen." Without attempting to find the significance of the change in this particular case it may safely be said that all such connotations relating to a fluctuating frontier population are welcome historical acquisitions. The petition does not appear to have been printed. If it were, the printed text would undoubtedly give the population as a flat seven thousand without any hint of the limitation which the erasure in the manuscript places on its correctness.

On December 31, 1834, proceedings in memory of Lafayette were held by Congress, the chief feature of which was an oration by Mr. Adams. The copy of this oration among the selected House papers is an autograph draft which contains corrections, changes and omissions. Such a manuscript would be of interest, perhaps even of considerable value, to an editor or biographer.

Under date of March 4, 1834, a report was made by the committee on ways and means on the removal of the public deposits. The manuscript indicates careful editing of this, the final draft. The editing is confined to the selection of words; but the changes uniformly tend to make the language of the report more vigorous and direct. It is conceivable that even such slight revision might be important evidence in a critical investigation concerning an important report—say of its authorship.

From these notes on the general characteristics and value of the selected House papers, we will now turn to a somewhat more specific treatment of the subject matter of two classes that yield the largest proportion of new material—petitions and claims. Not only have more of the documents in these classes remained unprinted, but those in print have been published only in part or in summaries. Consequently they contain material that may be new for two reasons: because in hitherto inaccessible manuscripts, or because it has been overlooked on account of the fragmentary manner in which it has been printed.

Judging from the selected House papers, the House files are flooded with petitions. They have flowed in a steady stream—

individual petitions, petitions with printed text signed and forwarded by hundreds, and memorials of societies and state legislatures. Many have been printed, many not; often only a summary is printed in a report on a petition or group of petitions. When printed verbatim, the signatures are almost always, if not always, omitted; only in exceptional cases, however, do the names seem to have any historical value. Whether printed or unprinted, the petitions furnish a superabundance of material for tracing the growth and fluctuation of public opinion on all the great questions and movements of our history. To the student of social and economic history, especially when viewed from a local history standpoint, they will often furnish facts and put one in touch with local public feeling. This holds true in spite of all the adverse criticism which obviously can be made against them as historical sources.

One subject on which there is a very large number of petitions, as every student of American history would surmise, is that of slavery. In the following illustrations of this class of petitions, geographical distribution as well as range of subject matter has determined the selection:

Under date of December 30, 1799, a petition was signed, usually by mark, by seventy free negroes of Philadelphia. It can scarcely have value as an expression of opinion, but its declarations concerning kidnapping and the slave trade must be given some credence unless we assume that local anti-slavery leaders, who almost certainly drew it up, would publish concrete statements that could not be backed by any evidence whatsoever. From the years 1800–01 may be noted petitions from slaveholders of Maryland and Delaware, complaining of the enticing away of slaves and of the inadequacy of the fugitive slave law; they state alleged facts as well as express opinion and feeling. Some are re-enforced by personal letters, a procedure by no means exceptional; such letters are even less likely to be printed, than the petitions themselves. From 1806 we have a memorial of the American convention for promoting the abolition of slavery, which is accompanied by its printed proceedings for 1805. This is representative of a distinct class of petitions, those of propagandists with local and national organization. The society just mentioned was composed of Quakers, a fact suggesting a still further value of such petitions—

for the study of religious groups and their attitude and activity in public and economic affairs. A South Carolina memorial of December 29, 1807, asked exemption from the penalties of the law prohibiting the slave trade for certain vessels that had unexpectedly been delayed so that they could not reach port before the following New Year's day, when the law would go into effect. Questions culminating in the Missouri Compromise of 1820 brought forth a multitude of petitions. From that time on, the stream bends and turns with every change in the great contest. Only the memorials from bodies organized for a definite and specific purpose hold to a steady course, and even that is altered as new conditions arise.

A bundle of petitions of the year 1827 well illustrates the usual geographical distribution of a group. It contains petitions from the American Colonization Society and from the states of Vermont, New York, Ohio, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Some in this bundle relate to slavery in the District of Columbia, a favorite theme for a number of years, but most refer to manumission and African colonization. Some petitions favoring colonization, as one from Tennessee in 1832, advocate a colony in the West along the lines of the Indian Territory. Many petitions relating to slavery, from 1837 and succeeding years, bear endorsements in the hand of Mr. Adams and give ample evidence of the tireless persistence of his fight against the order of the House concerning such papers. The order itself furnished occasion for countless memorials.

In the midst of the innumerable slavery petitions of the thirties we find no inconsiderable number against duelling. These were inspired by the Graves-Cilley duel. The records of the investigation of the affair are among the selected House papers. In this duel, fought on February 24, 1838, William Graves, a representative from Kentucky, shot and killed Jonathan Cilley, a representative from Maine. A petition from Portsmouth, N. H., relating to this affair, contains the following expresssions: "murder of the late Hon. Mr. Cilley of Maine by the political associate of Daniel Webster, and John Bell of Tennessee"; and, "the murderer of Mr. Cilley, his employer, the infamous Webb, and the United States Bank, which gave the last named person the power to do mischief, are equally

entitled to our abhorrence." These words are from the native state of both Mr. Webster and Mr. Cilley—a state, also, which is contiguous on either side to the states which they represented in Congress at the time of the duel. One would have to search long among the slavery petitions to find words equal in hysterical virulence to those just quoted. Such a petition is an invaluable balance wheel to any interpretation of the public opinion of that decade on slavery and other great questions.

Like slavery, the tariff has moved the country to pour forth its soul in petitions. Their contents often combine with the tariff, related questions of commerce and industry. In the years preceding the War of 1812–15 the political and military situation in Europe, the embargo and non-intercourse acts, and the tariff appear side by side in the text of many of the memorials. The basis of these petitions is often laid in a statement of facts concerning general economic conditions in a state, a locality, or a city. Sometimes documents or letters containing further statements and facts are filed with the petitions. A few examples of this class of petitions follow.

In 1805 and 1806 the hatters in various states petitioned for better regulation of the Indian fur-trade, which they claimed was conducted in a manner unfair to them. The facts in the petitions and accompanying papers relate to the fur-trade as well as to the hat industry.

About 1803 the printers were seeking to prevent a higher duty on type and to secure a higher tariff on books. At the same time the paper-makers were asking for a higher duty on paper and the removal of that on rags. One of the arguments of the printers against the duty on type was, that it would encourage the importation of foreign books and by thus injuring the native art of printing would strengthen the empire of ignorance and vice in America. With equal sincerity, a higher duty on books is supported by the argument that it would prevent the general importation of foreign books, many of which are trivial or corrupting, and would enable American printers to select and print only the good books among them.

In this same year a cork-cutter of Philadelphia in asking for favorable tariff duties makes the following declaration:

That from the great encrease in the business of bottling Porter, Beer, Ale, Cider & wine in the United States within these few years, your

petitioner was induced to leave his native Country, dissatisfied with the maxims of Government there, and to come and seek an asylum against despotic principles in this land of freedom where he expected to have his industry protected, well knowing that it must add to the national wealth.

From the years 1817–18 the selected House papers have petitions from various states relating to the iron, paper, umbrella, harness-fixtures, mirror, wood-carving, and gilding industries. A South Carolina petition dated 1822 describes the injury to the lumber industry of that state from the prohibition of trade with the West Indies in British vessels. When the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was building, its projectors petitioned to be allowed to import iron free of duty. This brought a vigorous counter-petition from Philadelphia, in which emphasis is laid on the fact that the railroad had won support by convincing people that its construction would aid the iron industry.

The tariff of 1828—"the tariff of abominations"—in view of the bitterness of the support and opposition which it met, as well as through its relation to South Carolina nullification is one of the most famous of our tariffs. In the years immediately preceding its enactment, tariff petitions are numerous. A larger proportion than usual appears to have been printed. Even a cursory survey of the bundles disclosed petitions from Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia. Some are so elaborate that they rise to the dignity of pamphlet form. Those from South Carolina set forth quite fully the feeling and opinions of its citizens. A by no means inadequate sketch of the public opinion of the whole country on this tariff could be written from the memorials among the selected House papers alone.

Mention of a few miscellaneous petitions will indicate some of the fields in which the less numerous classes of petitions contribute information.

In 1806 the warriors of the Upper and Lower Sanduskies petitioned for a reservation at the rapids of the Lower Sandusky. The signers give their totems and names. Accompanying the memorial are letters concerning these Indians, from General Hull and the Western Missionary Society. Petitions in favor

of Indian betterment (as from Ohio in 1822) ask for regulation of trade and of whiskey selling, the establishment of schools, etc.

The citizens of western Pennsylvania memorialized Congress in 1807 on the hardships and injustice to which they were subjected by the "unconstitutional" powers of the Federal courts.

In 1814 the New York banks made objection by memorial, on technical banking grounds, to the incorporation of the Bank of the United States. The later history of the bank is represented in the selected House papers by petitions for and against it, and by various other papers.

A poor men's petition from Ohio in 1820, asks amendment of the public land laws. It begins thus: "The poori Mans petetion psalms 41 Blessed is He that Considereth the poore."

In 1836 a petition from mechanics and others of Buffalo was presented, asking for a ten-hour day. The signers state that they are obliged to work twelve to fourteen hours a day, which leaves them no time for rest and mental improvement. In a petition like this, which falls in the beginnings of a great national or world movement, the signatures may be of value in tracing the social genealogy of its early adherents.

Immigration and naturalization are subjects on which Congress has been frequently memorialized. Such documents seem, usually, to be from alien residents and ask for more lenient naturalization laws. Some were more pointedly directed against those who were hostile to all persons of foreign birth. A memorial of the year 1818 marks another type of immigration petition. In it a band of Swiss immigrants asks for a grant of public land. To each signature is added the name of the canton in Switzerland from which the signer came, a fact giving the petition much value from a genealogical and biographical standpoint.

Internal improvements called forth many petitions, especially from the newer parts of the country. Not only do these show local public opinion relative to such projects, but in the course of argument for or against an improvement, they relate many facts concerning local conditions; sometimes these facts are elaborated in accompanying letters, papers, and maps. Of somewhat similar nature are petitions relating to the postal service. When these, together with reports, bills, and laws, concern the

abandonment or change of old offices and routes, or the establishment of new ones, they furnish material for studies in the shifting and expansion of population.

The section of the selected House papers which is most purely manuscript, and contains papers of greatest individual interest and value, is that of private claims. When a claim is reported on, the formal document is usually printed—in substance at least, and sometimes with accompanying papers; but the latter, which commonly are of greater historical value than the formal claim, are more often left unprinted.

For several generations after the war, claims for Revolutionary pensions and bounty lands were continually being presented. Reuben Colburn of Maine and his heirs kept such a claim before Congress from 1795 to 1832, for furnishing guides, boats, and supplies up the Kennebec River to the Quebec expedition of 1775. The substance of the papers has been printed; but the originals contain further detail of interest. Among them are Washington's orders to Colburn and a list of the guides and carpenters employed. With a claim made by Gen. Moses Hazen in 1804 for loss of British half-pay, is enclosed his commission as lieutenant in the British army, signed in 1761 by Gen. Jeffrey Amherst. Filed with a claim of heirs of Samuel Campbell for remuneration for his losses at the Cherry Valley massacre in November, 1778, are several noteworthy papers. One is a schedule of losses, made by Campbell himself, which would furnish some facts relating to economic conditions among the settlers. Another is a letter from Joseph Brant to a friend, dated July 9, 1778, in which he refers to collecting supplies and rifles, to fighting the cruel rebels, and to having heard that the Cherry Valley people made light of the British party and called them "wild geese." These papers were not printed with the report on the claim.

A claim entered in 1815 by the agent of the crew of the U. S brig "Syren," for prize money due on captures in the war with Tripoli, is supported by various original papers relating to the operations of the brig. One is a letter by Commodore Preble, written at Gibraltar, September 19, 1803, to the commander of the "Syren", giving him orders and instructions. Mention may be made here of an application for office in 1824 by James L. Catheart, in which he gives an account of his life

in the Barbary states after his capture in 1785, and adds some remarks on our relations with those states.

From the first, westward immigration and settlement furnished occasion for thousands of claims, especially claims relating to lands. The papers and information subsidiary to the claims range over a wide field of fact. A claim or petition for recognition of title, made in 1804 by the Company of Military Adventurers, is a case in point. This company was formed in 1763 by men who had served in the colonial wars; it obtained lands in British West Florida and established a settlement in the Mississippi-Yazoo region, but its progress and expansion were interfered with by the Revolutionary War. The briefs, depositions, and other papers filed with the claim furnish an ample body of material on the history of the project.

Of quite different character is the claim of Daniel Pettibone in 1819–20, concerning a disputed patent of a process for welding cast-steel to iron or other steel. The accompanying papers supplement the records of the Patent Office; possibly some of them would be found to be missing from the latter files. There is much evidence in the selected House papers of the readiness with which original papers were in early days sent to Congress from the departments. It is clear that some were promptly returned; but others, still found in the House files, awaken the suspicion that they are originals that never were sent back.

In 1818 a considerable number of slaves were captured by the United States authorities on the vessels "Constitution", "Louisa", and "Merino". The trouble which they caused the government is famous. Aside from the information on the case itself, the papers in the claims for remuneration for care of the captive negroes, made by F. W. Armstrong, John Haines, and Taliaferro Livingston, set down in detail facts relating to the cost of keeping negroes, the value of slave labor, etc.

The claims among the selected House papers that have produced the most striking historical manuscripts, are those for unpaid salaries and expenses of diplomatic agents of the United States. Such is a claim made in 1832 by Michael Hogan, who was consul in Chile during 1821 and several succeeding years. His functions often included our diplomatic affairs, and extended beyond the confines of Chile. The accompanying papers, many of them copies of official correspondence, contain ma-

terial on political, commercial, and other affairs on the west coast of South America and on our relations and interests there. In one letter, something is said of affairs in Alaska from information gained from a Russian ship bound thither.

Truly remarkable for the wealth of accompanying papers is the claim of the heirs of William Carmichael, which was before Congress in 1840–43. Carmichael was secretary to the American commissioners in Paris in 1776–77; during the years 1778–80 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and from then until 1794 was attached to our embassy at Madrid, first as secretary to Mr. Jay and then as chargé d'affaires. In 1792 he was associated with Mr. Short in the negotiations on the Mississippi question.

In 1777 Carmichael was our immediate representative in the discussions and arrangements concerning Lafayette's entering the American service. Doniol states that this was because he was less known than Silas Deane, hence better suited to ensure the necessary secrecy. The episode finds record in a number of letters filed with the claim; some are by Lafayette and some by his wife, in his name or in her own. One interesting letter is by De Kalb, written on March 14 in English, concerning a call by Carmichael on Lafayette who was then in hiding at Chaillot. It says, "The Marq^{s}. does not dare to go out of his lodgings at Chaillos [sic]." Directions are then given for finding the lodgings, with the instruction to ask for the gentleman who rooms on the first floor; the injunction is added, "he must not be named." The accepted story is, that at this time Lafayette was in hiding in De Kalb's house or lodgings. If this be true, the letter just described is curiously impersonal in its detailed instructions. Of later letters by Lafayette, mention may be made of one written in 1785, when Carmichael was in Madrid, relating to the Mississippi question; and of one written in 1788, giving some account of conditions in France. Few if any of these letters are in print.

There are also letters from Silas Deane, Ralph Izard, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, Paul Jones, and others. These are chiefly devoted to American affairs in Europe, during the Revolution and the years following.

From the Spanish period of Carmichael's diplomatic career are equally striking papers. Under date of July 9, 1784, is a

letter (or autograph copy) from Carmichael to Franklin, which touches on various personal and public matters. There are also several letters from Jefferson; one of these, dated at New York, August 6, 1790, and characteristically clear and efficient, contains general instructions to the embassy at Madrid under our new government. There are also letters from Americans in captivity in Algiers, giving lists of the captives there in 1785. Interesting, also, are some papers relating to routine matters, such as bills for rent, postage, copying, and stationery. A number of letters bear witness to Carmichael's close relations with the Gardoqui family—he was in debt to them in 1787. Under date of October 21, 1785, is a bill of "1151 reals de vellon" for putting up the arms of the United States over the door of Mr. Carmichael's residence. Rather amusing is an autograph note from Florida Blanca to Carmichael, written Sept. 7, 1785. He therein states that Carmichael's landlord has asked his assistance in an alleged dispute concerning house rent, and commends the matter to Carmichael's attention with an expression of confidence that he will settle it with his usual exactness.

It would be possible to continue at far greater length with illustrations from other groups among these papers. Enough, however, has been done, to show the wide range of their possible value. With the collection from the standpoint of the historical relic and of the autograph, these notes have no concern. From the bibliographical standpoint, it should be said that scattered through these papers are many broadsides and pamphlets—some are early public documents—many of which are now of exceeding rarity and value.

So far as can be judged from the selected House papers, the destruction of the House records in 1814 is a myth. They certainly make the question an open one for a very interesting study.[4] Curiously enough, the origin of the British admiral's

[4] This agrees with the report of the clerks in charge of the records, in *Amer. State Papers, Misc.*, ii, p. 245. Their report seems to mean that they first removed "the manuscript records" (i. e., the miscellaneous papers) and then as many of "the most valuable books and [bound or possibly printed] papers" as they could. Their statement that "the most material papers" lost were the current "volumes" of certain committee records, and the originals of the secret journals is further evidence in support of this interpretation.

orders to his ships in the Potomac to withdraw, is among the selected House papers. It was sent to the ships by an inhabitant of the region, and thence came to a House investigating committee.[5]

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[5] In the report of the Librarian of Congress for 1912, pp. 38, 39 is a complimentary reference to Dr. Tilton's work in the classification, arranging, and cataloging of the House miscellaneous papers described above.—Ed.

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